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II



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Records of the Historian

II



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伍子胥列传

【原文】

伍子胥者，楚人也，名员。员父曰伍奢。员兄曰伍尚。其先曰伍举，以直谏事楚庄王，有显，故其后世有名于楚。

楚平王有太子名曰建，使伍奢为太傅，费无忌为少傅。无忌不忠于太子建。平王使无忌为太子取妇于秦，秦女好，无忌驰归报平王曰：“秦女绝美，王可自取，而更为太子取妇。”平王遂自取秦女而绝爱幸之，生子轸。更为太子取妇。

无忌既以秦女自媚于平王，因去太子而事平王。恐一旦平王卒而太子立，杀己，乃因谗太子建。建母，蔡女也，无宠于平

【今译】

伍子胥是楚国人，名员。他的父亲叫伍奢，哥哥叫伍尚。他的祖先叫伍举，凭借直言进谏侍奉楚庄王，颇有声望，所以他的后人在楚国很有名气。

楚平王有个太子名叫建，平王派伍奢作太子太傅，费无忌作太子少傅。费无忌对太子建不忠。平王派费无忌给太子到秦国娶亲，秦国女子长得很漂亮，费无忌就跑回去报告平王道：“秦国女子长得非常漂亮，大王可以自己娶了她，另外再给太子娶个妻子。”平王于是自娶了这个秦国女子，并且十分宠爱她，后生子名轸。平王另外给太子娶了妻子。

费无忌凭借秦女得宠于平王后，便离开太子而侍奉平王。他担心有朝一日平王驾崩，太子即位，会杀自己，于是在平王面前说太子建的坏话。太子建的母亲是蔡人，不得平王宠爱。于是平



Wu Zixu

Wu Zixu, or Wu Yuan, was a native of Chu. His father was Wu She, his elder brother Wu Shang. Their ancestor Wu Chu had been noted for his frank advice to King Zhuang of Chu, and so his descendants were well-known in that state.

King Ping of Chu appointed Wu She senior guardian to Crown Prince Jian, with Fei Wuji as junior guardian. Fei was not loyal to the prince, however. Sent to Qin by the king to bring back a wife for the prince and finding her very lovely, he galloped back to report, "This girl from Qin is a marvellous beauty. Your Majesty had better take her yourself and find another wife for the crown prince."

So King Ping took the girl, who became his favourite and gave birth to a son Zhen, while a different bride was found for the crown prince. Since Fei had pleased the king in this matter, he left the crown prince and entered the king's service. But fearing that when the king died and Jian ascended the throne he might be killed, he began to slander Jian. As the king did not love the crown prince's mother, who was from Cai, he gradually became estranged from Jian, whom he sent



【原文】

王。平王稍益疏建，使建守城父，备边兵。

顷之，无忌又日夜言太子短于王曰：“太子以秦女之故，不能无怨望，愿王少自备也。自太子居城父，将兵，外交诸侯，且欲入为乱矣。”平王乃召其太傅伍奢考问之。伍奢知无忌谗太子于平王，因曰：“王独奈何以谗贼小臣疏骨肉之亲乎？”无忌曰：“王今不制，其事成矣。王且见禽。”于是平王怒，囚伍奢，而使城父司马奋扬往杀太子。行未至，奋扬使人先告太子：“太子急去，不然将诛。”太子建亡奔宋。

无忌言于平王曰：“伍奢有二子，皆贤，不诛且为楚忧。可以其父质而召之，不然且为楚患。”王使使谓伍奢曰：“能致汝二子

【今译】

王渐渐地越来越疏远太子建了，派他去驻守城父，负责边防。

不久，费无忌又不停地在平王面前讲太子的坏话，他说：“太子因那个秦国女子的缘故，不会不生怨望之心，希望大王自己提防一下。自从太子驻守城父，统领军队，结交诸侯，恐怕想要回来作乱了。”平王于是把太子太傅伍奢召来查问。伍奢知道是费无忌在平王跟前毁谤太子，便说：“大王怎么能因谗贼小臣疏远父子的骨肉关系呢？”费无忌说：“如果大王不马上制止，他的阴谋就要得逞。那时大王就要落到别人手里了！”因此平王大怒，拘捕了伍奢，同时派城父司马奋扬去杀太子。半路上，奋扬派人先去通知太子：“太子赶快离开吧，不然将被杀。”于是太子建逃亡到了宋国。

费无忌对平王说：“伍奢有两个儿子，都很有才能，不杀掉恐将成为楚国之忧。可以拿他们的父亲当人质，把他们召来，不这样会成为楚国的后患！”平王派人伍奢说：“能招致你的两个儿



to guard the frontier city of Chengfu.

Soon Fei was belittling Jian day and night to the king. "The crown prince naturally resents losing his bride from Qin," he said. "I must beg Your Majesty to be on your guard. Now the prince is in command of an army at Chengfu and in contact with other states, he may make trouble."

King Ping summoned the senior guardian Wu She and asked him about it. Wu She, knowing of Fei's slander, told the king, "Don't let yourself be estranged from your own flesh and blood, sir, by a petty treacherous slanderer."

Fei insisted, "Unless you stop them, they will succeed. And then you will be trapped."

So the king in his anger had Wu She imprisoned. He ordered Fen Yang, the military commander at Chengfu, to kill the crown prince, but instead Fen Yang sent a man to warn Jian, saying, "Fly for your life, or you are lost!" So Prince Jian fled to Song.

Fei Wuji told the king, "Wu She has two sons, both able. If you do not eliminate them they will cause Chu trouble. With their father as hostage you can summon them. Failing this, they will be a menace to our state."

Then the king sent word to Wu She, "Get your two sons here and



【原文】

则生，不能则死。”伍奢曰：“尚为人仁，呼必来。员为人刚戾忍诟，能成大事，彼见来之并禽，其势必不来。”王不听，使人召二子曰：“来，吾生汝父；不来，今杀奢也。”伍尚欲往，员曰：“楚之召我兄弟，非欲以生我父也，恐有脱者后生患，故以父为质，诈召二子。二子到，则父子俱死。何益父之死？往而令仇不得报耳。不如奔他国，借力以雪父之耻，俱灭，无为也。”伍尚曰：“我知往终不能全父命。然恨父召我求生而不往，后不能雪耻，终为天下笑耳。”谓员：“可去矣！汝能报杀父之仇，我将归死。”尚既就执，使者捕伍胥。伍胥贯弓执矢向使者，使者不敢进，伍胥遂亡。闻太子建之在宋，往从之。奢闻子胥之亡也，曰：“楚国君臣且苦

【今译】

子来就可以活，否则就是死。”伍奢说：“伍尚为人仁厚，叫他肯定会来。伍员为人桀傲不驯，坚忍卓绝，能成大事业，他知道来了一并被捉，势必不来。”平王不听，派人去召他们说：“你们来了，我饶你们的父亲不死；不来，现在就杀死伍奢。”伍尚打算前往，伍员说：“楚王叫我们兄弟去，并不是想保全我们父亲的性命，他只是担心有逃脱的，会生后患，所以拿父亲作人质，用欺骗的方法来叫我们。两个儿子一到，就会父子一同处死。对于父亲的死，有什么好处？去了，仇就报不成了！不如逃到别国，藉他人之力来洗雪这个耻辱，一起死，毫无意义。”伍尚说：“我知道去了终究不能保全父亲的性命。但是心中懊悔父亲召我们以求生而我们不去，将来又不能报仇雪恨，最后只是被天下人耻笑啊！”又对伍员说：“你走吧！你能报父仇，我要投身就死。”伍尚就擒后，使者又要去抓伍胥，伍胥弯弓搭箭对着使者，使者不敢近前，伍子胥就逃掉了。又听说太子建在宋国，便去投奔。伍奢听



you shall live. Otherwise you die."

"Shang has a good heart and would come," replied Wu She. "But Zixu has a hard character, can stand abuse and is capable of great things. When he sees this is a trap, he will not come."

The king paid no attention but sent for both sons, saying, "Come, and your father lives. Otherwise he must die."

Shang wanted to obey the summons but Zixu reasoned, "The king has no intention of sparing our father but has sent for us because he is afraid of the trouble we may cause if we escape. He is holding our father as hostage in order to trick us. If we go we shall all die together — what good would that do our father? We should simply lose all chance of revenge. No, better escape to another state and enlist support to avenge him. There is no point in perishing together."

"I know I cannot save him by going," Shang rejoined. "But I don't want to be sneered at by the whole world for staying away to save my own skin and perhaps failing later to avenge him." He added, "You leave! You can avenge our father while I die with him."

With Shang in their hands, the messengers tried to seize Zixu, but he fitted an arrow to his bow and aimed it at them so that they dared not advance. Thus he escaped. Hearing that the crown prince was in Song, he went there to join him.

When Wu She learned of Zixu's flight he said, "Now the king of Chu and his ministers face military disaster."

【原文】

兵矣。”伍尚至楚，楚并杀奢与尚也。

伍胥既至宋，宋有华氏之乱，乃与太子建俱奔于郑。郑人甚善之。太子建又适晋，晋顷公曰：“太子既善郑，郑信太子。太子能为我内应，而我攻其外，灭郑必矣。灭郑而封太子。”太子乃还郑。事未会，会自私欲杀其从者，从者知其谋，乃告之于郑。郑定公与子产诛杀太子建。建有子名胜。伍胥惧，乃与胜俱奔吴。到昭关，昭关欲执之。伍胥遂与胜独身步走，几不得脱。追者在后。至江，江上有一渔父乘船，知伍胥之急，乃渡伍胥。伍胥既渡，解其剑曰：“此剑直百金，以与父。”父曰：“楚国之法，得伍胥者赐粟五万石，爵执珪，岂徒百金剑邪！”不受。伍胥未至吴而疾，止中

【今译】

说伍子胥逃跑了，便说：“楚国君臣恐怕要为战事所苦了！”伍尚到了楚国，楚王把伍奢和伍尚一起处死了。

伍子胥到了宋国，宋国刚好发生华氏之乱，伍子胥便同太子建逃到了郑国。郑国君臣对他们很友好。太子建又前往晋国，晋顷公说：“太子对郑国好，郑人又信任太子。如果太子能给我从内接应，而我自外攻入，肯定能灭掉郑国。灭掉郑国，就把郑地封给太子。”太子于是返回郑国。事情还没准备妥当，恰巧太子有件私事要杀从者，这个从者知道他的计划，便告诉了郑国。郑定公和子产便诛杀了太子建。太子建有个儿子名叫胜。伍子胥怕丧命，便和胜一起逃往吴国。到昭关时，守卫要抓他们，伍子胥就和胜二人徒步逃亡，几乎不能幸免。追赶的人穷追不舍。伍子胥逃到了江边，江上有个渔父驾着船，知道了伍子胥情况危急，就渡他过江。过了江，伍子胥解下佩剑，说：“这把剑值百金，送给你吧。”渔父说：“楚国法令，抓到你的赐粟五万石，封执珪之爵，岂只百金之剑呢！”不肯接受。伍子胥还没到吴国就病倒了，





As soon as Shang returned, he was put to death with his father.

After Wu Zixu reached Song there was a revolt led by Hua Hai, so Wu Zixu and Prince Jian went on to Zheng, where they were well received. Then Prince Jian visited Jin.

Duke Qing of Jin said, "You are a good friend of Zheng and trusted there. If you help from within while I attack from without, I can certainly conquer Zheng and give it to you."

The prince returned to Zheng. But before the plan was carried out he made an attempt on the life of one of his followers against whom he had a grudge, and this man, knowing the plot, informed against him. Then Duke Ding of Zheng and his minister Zichan killed Prince Jian.

The prince had left a son named Sheng, with whom Wu Zixu fled in alarm to Wu. The guards at the Zhao Pass tried to arrest them and, being on foot, they were very nearly caught. With pursuers hot behind them they reached the river, where a fisherman who saw that their case was desperate ferried them across in his boat. On the further shore, Wu Zixu unbuckled his sword.

"This sword, worth a hundred gold pieces, I leave with you," he said.

The fisherman answered, "A reward of fifty thousand piculs of grain and a noble title has been offered in Chu to the man who cap-

【原文】

道，乞食。至于吴，吴王僚方用事，公子光为将。伍胥乃因公子光以求见吴王。

久之，楚平王以其边邑钟离与吴边邑卑梁氏俱蚕，两女子争桑相攻，乃大怒，至于两国举兵相伐。吴使公子光伐楚，拔其钟离、居巢而归。伍子胥说吴王僚曰：“楚可破也。愿复遣公子光。”公子光谓吴王曰：“彼伍胥父兄为戮于楚，而劝王伐楚者，欲以自报其仇耳。伐楚未可破也。”伍胥知公子光有内志，欲杀王而自立，未可说以外事，乃进专诸于公子光，退而与太子建之子胜耕于野。

五年而楚平王卒。初，平王所夺太子建秦女生子轸，及平王卒，轸竟立为后，是为昭王。吴王僚因楚丧，使二公子将兵往袭

【今译】

滞于中途，讨饭苟存。到了吴国时，吴王僚正掌权，公子光为将，伍子胥便通过公子光求见吴王。

过了一段时间，楚平王因楚国边城的钟离人与吴国边城的卑梁氏都养蚕，两地女子因争桑叶而斗，于是大怒，以致两国兴兵相互讨伐。吴国派公子光攻楚，占领了钟离、居巢后回国了。伍子胥劝吴王僚说：“楚国可以破啊。希望再派公子光去。”公子光对吴王说：“那伍子胥的父兄死于楚国，他劝你攻楚，不过想报私仇罢了。楚国打不下来的。”伍子胥知道公子光对内有野心，想弑吴王僚而自立，故不能用外事来游说他，便向他推荐了专诸，自己归隐，和太子建的儿子胜到乡下种田去了。

五年后，楚平王去世。原先平王夺的太子建的秦女生子名轸，平王死后，轸竟然继立为昭王。吴王僚趁楚国大丧，派两个



tures Wu Zixu. Why should I take a sword worth only a hundred gold pieces?" And he refused it.

On the way to Wu, Wu Zixu fell ill and had to stop to beg for food. When he reached Wu, King Liao was on the throne with Lord Guang as his commander, and through him Wu Zixu obtained an audience with the king.

Some time later, the women raising silkworms in Wu's frontier town of Beiliangshi started fighting about mulberry leaves with those in Chu's frontier town Zhongli. King Ping of Chu was so incensed by this that he called out his troops, and the king of Wu sent Lord Guang to attack Chu. Upon his return after storming Zhongli and Juchao, Wu Zixu advised the king, "Chu can be defeated if you send Lord Guang out on another expedition."

But Lord Guang told the king, "Wu Zixu's father and brother were killed in Chu. He is advising you to attack because he wants revenge. We cannot defeat Chu."

Wu Zixu knew that Lord Guang was plotting to kill the king and take his place, and that therefore it was useless to speak to him about matters outside. So he introduced Zhuan Zhu to Lord Guang and went into retirement himself ploughing the fields with Sheng, the son of Prince Jian.

Five years later King Ping of Chu died and Zhen, his son by the beauty from Qin, succeeded him as King Zhao. King Liao of Wu seized this opportunity to dispatch two lords with troops against Chu,

【原文】

楚。楚发兵绝吴兵之后，不得归。吴国内空，而公子光乃令专诸袭刺吴王僚而自立，是为吴王阖庐。阖庐既立，得志，乃召伍员以为行人，而与谋国事。

楚诛其大臣郤宛、伯州犁，伯州犁之孙伯嚭亡奔吴，吴亦以嚭为大夫。前王僚所遣二公子将兵伐楚者，道绝不得归。后闻阖庐弑王僚自立，遂以其兵降楚，楚封之于舒。阖庐立三年，乃兴师与伍胥、伯嚭伐楚，拔舒，遂禽故吴反二将军。因欲至郢，将军孙武曰：“民劳，未可，且待之。”乃归。

四年，吴伐楚，取六与濞。五年，伐越，败之。六年，楚昭王使公子囊瓦将兵伐吴。吴使伍员迎击，大破楚军于豫章，取楚之居巢。

【今译】

公子带兵袭楚。楚人发兵断了吴军的后路，吴军退不回去。吴国内部空虚，于是公子光就让专诸杀死吴王僚，然后自立为王，这就是吴王阖庐。阖庐作了王，志得意满，于是召回伍员，任以行人，让他参与商量国家大事。

楚国杀了大臣郤宛、伯州犁，伯州犁的孙子伯嚭逃到了吴国，吴国也任命伯嚭作了大夫。从前吴王僚所派带兵攻楚的两个公子，后路被断回不了吴。后来听说阖庐弑吴王僚自立，便带兵降楚，楚国封他们于舒。阖庐为王三年，就兴兵同伍子胥、伯嚭攻楚，占领舒地，擒获了原来吴国的两个叛将。于是阖庐想趁势攻郢，将军孙武说：“百姓疲惫，还不行，姑且等等。”于是收兵回国。

阖庐四年(公元前511年)，吴攻楚，占领了六地和濞地。五年，攻越，大败越国。六年，楚昭王派公子囊瓦带兵伐吴。吴派伍子胥迎击，在豫章大破楚军，夺取了楚国的居巢。



but the army of Chu cut off their retreat so that Wu was left undefended. Then Lord Guang made Zhuan Zhu assassinate the king and set himself up as King Helü. His ambition realized, he put Wu Zixu in charge of relations with other states and consulted him on government affairs.

When the king of Chu killed his ministers Xi Wan and Bo Zhouli, the latter's grandson Bo Pi fled to Wu and King Helü made him a minister too.

After the two lords sent to attack Chu found retreat impossible and heard that Lord Guang had assassinated King Liao and enthroned himself, they surrendered with their forces to Chu and were given the district of Shu as their fief.

Three years after King Helü ascended the throne, he raised an army and with the help of Wu Zixu and Bo Pi attacked Chu, took Shu and captured the two renegades. He wanted to advance on Ying, the capital of Chu, but his commander Sun Wu said, "Our men are tired. The time has not yet come. We had better wait." So they returned.

In the fourth year the army of Wu attacked Chu again and took Liu and Jian. In the fifth year they attacked and defeated Yue. In the sixth year King Zhao of Chu sent Lord Nang with troops against Wu, but Wu Zixu, who had been dispatched by King Helü to resist, utterly routed him at Yuzhang and captured Juchao from Chu.



【原文】

九年，吴王阖庐谓子胥、孙武曰：“始子言郢未可入，今果何如？”二子对曰：“楚将囊瓦贪，而唐、蔡皆怨之。王必欲大伐之，必先得唐、蔡乃可。”阖庐听之，悉兴师与唐、蔡伐楚，与楚夹汉水而陈。吴王之弟夫概将兵请从，王不听，遂以其属五千人击楚将子常。子常败走，奔郑。于是吴乘胜而前，五战，遂至郢。己卯，楚昭王出奔。庚辰，吴王入郢。

昭王出亡，入云梦；盗击王，王走郢。郢公弟怀曰：“平王杀我父，我杀其子，不亦可乎！”郢公恐其弟杀王，与王奔随。吴兵围随，谓随人曰：“周之子孙在汉川者，楚尽灭之。”随人欲杀王，王子綦匿王，己自为王以当之。随人卜与王于吴，不吉，乃

【今译】

九年(公元前506年)，吴王阖庐对伍子胥、孙武说：“当初你们说郢地进不了，现在怎么样？”二人回答说：“楚将囊瓦贪财，唐国、蔡国都恨他。大王若一定要大举攻伐，一定要先得到唐、蔡的支持才行。”吴王听取了 this 意见，发动全部军队和唐、蔡一起攻楚，跟楚军在汉水两岸摆开阵势。吴王的弟弟夫概带领军队请求跟从，吴王不许，夫概便带所属五千人攻打楚将子常。子常败逃到郑国。于是吴国乘胜前进，五战打到郢都。己卯日，楚昭王出逃。庚辰日，吴王入郢都。

楚昭王出逃，进入云梦；有强盗攻击，便逃到郢地。郢公的弟弟怀说：“平王杀了我们的父亲，我们杀他的儿子，不很公道吗？”郢公怕弟弟杀了昭王，便跟昭王逃到随。吴兵围随，对随人说：“汉川一带的周室子孙，都被楚人灭掉了。”随人想杀昭王，王子綦把昭王藏起来，说自己是昭王以搪塞他们。随人又进行占卜，认为把楚王送给吴国不吉，于是婉言拒绝把昭王



In the ninth year of his reign King Helü said to Wu Zixu and Sun Wu, "Some years ago you told me the time was not ripe to attack the capital of Chu. Is the time now ripe?"

"Chu's commander, Lord Nang, is a grasping man," they replied, "and both Tang and Cai bear him a grudge. If you want to attack in strength, first win over Tang and Cai."

The king, acting on their advice, mobilized all his forces and attacked Chu with the help of Tang and Cai. They took up battle formation facing the army of Chu across the River Han. The king's younger brother Fugai wanted to join in with his troops, but the king refused. However, Fugai charged with five thousand men and defeated General Gongsun Wa of Chu, who fled to Zheng. Then the men of Wu advanced victoriously and after five more battles reached the capital of Chu. King Zhao of Chu fled his capital which the king of Wu entered the next day. King Zhao fled to Yunmeng, but being attacked there by rebels escaped to Yun.

Lord Huai, younger brother of the lord of Yun, said, "King Ping killed my father — should I not kill his son?" For fear lest he do so, the lord of Yun escorted King Zhao to Sui.

The forces of Wu besieged Sui and told the defenders, "Chu has wiped out all descendants of the House of Zhou in the Han Valley." Then the men of Sui would have killed King Zhao had not his son Qi hidden him and taken his place. They consulted an oracle to see whether or not they should hand the king over to Wu, but receiving a negative answer they did not surrender him.

【原文】

谢吴不与王。

始伍员与申包胥为交，员之亡也，谓包胥曰：“我必覆楚。”包胥曰：“我必存之。”及吴兵入郢，伍子胥求昭王。既不得，乃掘楚平王墓，出其尸，鞭之三百，然后已。申包胥亡于山中，使人谓子胥曰：“子之报仇，其以甚乎！吾闻之，人众者胜天，天定亦能破人。今子故平王之臣，亲北面而事之，今至于僇死人，此岂其无天道之极乎！”伍子胥曰：“为我谢申包胥曰，吾日莫途远，吾故倒行而逆施之。”于是申包胥走秦告急，求救于秦。秦不许。包胥立于秦廷，昼夜哭，七日七夜不绝其声。秦哀公怜之，曰：“楚虽无道，有臣若是，可无存乎！”乃遣车五百乘救楚击吴。六月，败吴兵于稷。会吴王久留楚求昭王，而阖庐弟夫概乃亡归，自立为

【今译】

送给吴国。

当初，伍子胥和申包胥结交，伍子胥逃亡时，对申包胥说：“我一定要颠覆楚国。”申包胥说：“我一定能保全它。”等到吴军入郢，伍子胥搜寻昭王不得，就挖开楚平王的坟墓，拖出尸体，鞭打三百鞭，这才罢休。申包胥逃到山中，派人伍子胥说：“你这样报仇，太过分了吧！我听说，人多可以胜天，天定也能破人。你原是平王的臣子，曾亲自侍奉过他，如今到了侮辱死人的地步，这难道不是没天理之极吗！”伍子胥说：“替我向申包胥道歉吧，我处境好比日暮途远，所以只能倒行逆施。”于是申包胥跑到秦国告急，向秦求救。可是秦国不答应。申包胥站在秦的朝堂上，七日七夜，痛哭不止。秦哀公怜悯他，说：“楚国虽然无道，但有这样的臣子，能不存在下去吗？”于是派兵车五百辆击吴救楚。六月，在稷打败吴军。恰巧吴王长期留在楚国找昭王，而



Wu Zixu had been a friend of Shen Baoxu and when he fled from Chu had told him, "I mean to overthrow Chu."

Shen had replied, "Then I mean to preserve it."

When the army of Wu entered the capital, Wu Zixu searched in vain for the king. Then he dug up King Ping's grave, exhumed the corpse and gave it three hundred lashes. Shen fled into the mountains but sent back a message saying, "Are you not overdoing your revenge? I have heard that when they are many, men can overcome Heaven, but that Heaven can break men too. You were King Ping's subject, serving him as your lord, yet now you go so far as to defile the dead. Surely this is utterly counter to the laws of Heaven?"

Wu Zixu told the messenger, "Take this answer to Shen. Because time is short and I still have far to go, I am forced to act counter to propriety."

Shen Baoxu fled to Qin to ask for help. When he was refused, he stood in the court of Qin and wept without ceasing for seven days and seven nights till Duke Ai of Qin took pity on him, saying, "Although the king of Chu did wrong, since they have such a minister we cannot let the state perish." He sent five hundred chariots to aid Chu against Wu, and in the sixth month they defeated Wu at Ji.

King Helü stayed so long in Chu searching for the King that his



【原文】

王。阖庐闻之，乃释楚而归，击其弟夫概。夫概败走，遂奔楚。楚昭王见吴有内乱，乃复入郢。封夫概于堂溪，为堂溪氏。楚复与吴战，败吴，吴王乃归。

后二岁，阖庐使太子夫差将兵伐楚，取番。楚惧吴复大来，乃去郢，徙于都。当是时，吴以伍子胥、孙武之谋，西破强楚，北威齐晋，南服越人。

其后四年，孔子相鲁。

后五年，伐越。越王句践迎击，败吴于姑苏，伤阖庐指，军却。阖庐病创将死，谓太子夫差曰：“尔忘句践杀尔父乎？”夫差对曰：“不敢忘。”是夕，阖庐死。夫差既立为王，以伯嚭为太宰，习战射。二年后伐越，败越于夫湫。越王句践乃以余兵五千人

【今译】

阖庐弟夫概回国自立为王。吴王得知后于是放弃楚国，回去攻打他的弟弟夫概。夫概败逃到楚国。楚昭王见吴国有内乱，就返回郢都。把夫概封到堂溪，称堂溪氏。楚国再跟吴作战，打败吴国，吴王就回去了。

两年后，吴王派太子夫差带兵攻楚，占领番地。楚人怕吴再次大举而来，便离开郢都，迁徙到都。此时，吴国凭伍子胥、孙武的计谋，西破强楚，北震齐晋，南服越人。

此后四年，孔子在鲁国任相。

过了五年，吴国攻越，越王句践迎击，在姑苏打败吴军，伤了吴王阖庐的脚趾，吴军退却。吴王创伤发作，临死，对太子夫差说：“你会忘记句践杀了你的父亲吗？”夫差道：“不敢忘记。”当夜，阖庐去世，夫差继位。夫差立后，任伯嚭为太宰，加紧练兵。两年后攻越，在夫湫大败越兵。越王句践带着五千余士卒待



brother Fugai went back and usurped the throne. When Helü knew this, he decided to leave Chu. He returned to attack Fugai, who fled to Chu in defeat. King Zhao, seeing that Wu was torn by internal strife, went back to his capital and gave Fugai the district of Tangxi as his fief. Thus Fugai became lord of Tangxi. Chu inflicted another defeat up on Wu, whereupon King Helü withdrew.

Two years later the king sent his son Fucha with an army against Chu and he took Fan. Afraid that Wu might strike again with a great force, the king of Chu abandoned his capital, Ying, and moved his court to Ruoyang.

So now, thanks to the stratagems of Wu Zixu and Sun Wu, Wu had defeated powerful Chu in the west, awed Qi and Jin in the north and subdued Yue in the south.

Four years later Confucius became prime minister of Lu. Five years later King Helü attacked Yue. King Goujian of Yue resisted and defeated the army of Wu at Gusu, wounding King Helü in the hand. The Wu forces retreated. King Helü's wound made him mortally ill, and as he lay dying he asked his son Fucha, "Will you forget that Goujian has killed your father?"

"I shall never forget!" swore Fucha.

That night King Helü died and Fucha became king. He made Bo Pi his chief minister and practised archery and other military arts. Two years later he attacked Yue and defeated its army at Fujiao. King Goujian withdrew to Mount Kuaiji with the five thousand men remaining to



【原文】

栖于会稽之上，使大夫种厚币遗吴太宰嚭以请和，求委国为臣妾。吴王将许之。伍子胥谏曰：“越王为人能辛苦。今王不灭，后必悔之。”吴王不听，用太宰嚭计，与越平。

其后五年，而吴王闻齐景公死而大臣争宠，新君弱，乃兴师北伐齐。伍子胥谏曰：“句践食不重味，吊死问疾，且欲有所用之也。此人不死，必为吴患。今吴之有越，犹人之有腹心疾也。而王不先越而乃务齐，不亦谬乎！”吴王不听，伐齐，大败齐师于艾陵，遂威邹鲁之君以归。益疏子胥之谋。

其后四年，吴王将北伐齐，越王句践用子贡之谋，乃率其众以助吴，而重宝以献遗太宰嚭。太宰嚭既数受越赂，其爱信越殊

【今译】

在会稽山上，派大夫文种以重金贿赂吴太宰伯嚭以求和，请求将越国以臣妾身份隶属并事奉吴国。夫差准备答应，伍子胥进谏说：“句践很能吃苦，如果不杀他，将来一定会后悔。”夫差不听，而采纳伯嚭之计，同越国讲和。

过了五年，夫差听说齐景公死后，大臣争权，新君势弱，便兴师向北攻齐。伍子胥谏道：“句践每餐不过两个荤菜，吊唁死去的，抚恤有病的，打算将来有所作为。此人不死，一定会是吴国的祸害。现在吴国有越国，正像一个人有了腹心之疾。可王不先攻越而去攻齐，不是大错特错吗！”吴王不听，攻打齐国，在艾陵大败齐军，于是威慑邹、鲁二国国君而归。这样夫差越来越不相信伍子胥的计谋了。

又过了四年，夫差要北攻齐国，句践用子贡之计，率兵助吴，并用重金贿赂伯嚭。伯嚭屡次受贿，更加喜欢信任句践，整



him and sent his minister Zhong with rich presents to Bo Pi to sue for peace, promising to be Wu's vassal. The king of Wu was willing, but Wu Zixu advised against it.

"The king of Yue knows how to bide his time," he said. "If you do not destroy him now, you will live to regret it." King Fucha disregarded him, however, and on Bo Pi's advice made peace with Yue.

Five years later King Fucha heard that Duke Jing of Qi had died and that the new king was weak, with his ministers contending for power. He raised an army to march north and attack Qi.

Wu Zixu advised against this expedition, saying, "King Goujian eats only one dish at each meal. He mourns his dead subjects and shows concern for the sick. This means that he intends to use his men for some purpose. So long as he lives, he is a menace to us. Today Yue is like a cancer in our stomach. It is wrong to attack Qi before destroying Yue."

The king paid no attention but attacked Qi, inflicting a great defeat on its army at Ailing and striking awe into the hearts of the kings of Zou and Lu. After that he paid even less attention to Wu Zixu's advice.

Four years later King Fucha decided to strike at Qi again. King Goujian of Yue, adopting Zigong's plan, sent troops to help Wu and presented rich gifts to the chief minister Bo Pi who, because he had received many bribes from Yue, liked and trusted Goujian and con-



【原文】

甚，日夜为言于吴王。吴王信用嚭之计。伍子胥谏曰：“夫越，腹心之病，今信其浮辞诈伪而贪齐。破齐，譬犹石田，无所用之。且《盘庚之诰》曰：‘有颠越不恭，剿殄灭之，俾无遗育，无使易种于兹邑。’此商之所以兴。愿王释齐而先越；若不然，后将悔之无及。”而吴王不听，使子胥于齐。子胥临行，谓其子曰：“吾数谏王，王不用，吾今见吴之亡矣。汝与吴俱亡，无益也。”乃属其子于齐鲍牧，而还报吴。

吴太宰嚭既与子胥有隙，因谗曰：“子胥为人刚暴，少恩，猜贼，其怨望恐为深祸也。前日王欲伐齐，子胥以为不可，王卒伐之而有大功。子胥耻其计谋不用，乃反怨望。而今王又复伐齐，子胥

【今译】

天替句践说话。而吴王总是相信采纳伯嚭的计策。伍子胥劝谏道：“越国，是心腹之患，现在却听信些花言巧语去攻齐。攻破齐国，好比得到一片石头地，毫无用处。况且《盘庚之诰》说：‘有颠越不恭，剿殄灭之，俾无遗育，无使易种于兹邑。’这是商兴盛的原因。希望大王能后齐先越；不然，后悔就来不及了。”吴王不听，派伍子胥出使齐国。伍子胥临走，对儿子说：“我屡次劝谏大王，大王不听。我现在已经可以看到吴国的末日了。你和吴一块儿完蛋没什么好处。”于是把儿子托付给齐国的鲍牧，自己回吴报告情况。

吴国的太宰伯嚭与伍子胥不和，进谗道：“伍子胥为人强硬凶暴，猜忌少恩，他的怨恨之心恐怕会成为大祸。上次大王要伐齐，他认为不行，大王伐齐大胜，伍子胥耻于他的计谋不被采用反而心怀不满。现在大王又要伐齐，伍子胥执拗强谏，毁谤败坏



stantly spoke well of him to the king. And the king was influenced by him.

Once more Wu Zixu warned, "Yue is a cancer in our stomach, yet now trusting their empty, deceitful promises you mean to invade Qi. Even if you conquer Qi, it will be as useless to us as a stony field. *The Admonition of Pangeng* says, 'An unruly and insolent people should be wiped out, leaving no remnants, no seeds of trouble sown in the land.' This was how the Shang Dynasty prospered. I entreat you to give up Qi and deal first with Yue, before it is too late for anything but regret."

The king, instead of listening to him, sent him on a mission to Qi. Just before he left, he told his son, "The king has turned a deaf ear to all my warnings. I can see that Wu will fall, but there is no need for you to fall with Wu." He entrusted his son to Bao Mu of Qi, after which he returned alone to Wu to report on his mission.

Since Bo Pi bore Wu Zixu a grudge he slandered him to the king, saying, "Wu Zixu is stubborn, hot-tempered, heartless and suspicious. His resentment may lead to serious trouble. When you decided to attack Qi he was against it, and when your expedition was so successful he felt humiliated at having his advice passed over and became an embittered man. Now that you are going to attack Qi again, Wu Zixu is so



【原文】

专愎强谏，沮毁用事，徒幸吴之败以自胜其计谋耳。今王自行，悉国中武力以伐齐，而子胥谏不用，因辍谢，详病不行。王不可不备，此起祸不难。且嚭使人微伺之，其使于齐也，乃属其子于齐之鲍氏。夫为人臣，内不得意，外倚诸侯，自以为先王之谋臣，今不见用，常鞅鞅怨望。愿王早图之！”吴王曰：“微子之言，吾亦疑之。”乃使使赐伍子胥属镂之剑，曰：“子以此死。”伍子胥仰天叹曰：“嗟乎！谗臣嚭为乱矣，王乃反诛我。我令若父霸。自若未立时，诸公子争立，我以死争之于先王，几不得立。若既得立，欲分吴国予我，我顾不敢望也。然今若听谀臣言以杀长者。”乃告其舍人曰：“必树吾墓上以梓，令可以为器；而抉吾眼县吴东门之上，以观越寇之人灭吴也。”乃自刭死。吴王闻之

【今译】

大王的伟业，而只希望吴国失败以证明自己的高明。如今大王亲征，国中的兵力都出动来攻齐，而伍子胥因计谋不被采用而装病不去。大王不能不有所戒备，这要生起祸端是不难的。况且我派人暗中观察他，他出使齐时，竟把儿子托付给了齐国的鲍氏。作人臣的，在国内不得志，在国外倚靠诸侯，自命旧臣，现今不被用，常常闷闷不乐心中怀有怨恨。希望大王早作打算！”吴王夫差说：“没有你这番话，我也怀疑他。”于是派人把属镂剑交给伍子胥，说：“你用这个自杀吧。”伍子胥仰天叹道：“唉呀！谗臣伯嚭作乱，大王竟然杀我。我曾令你父亲称霸。你未立时，诸公子相争，若非我力争于先王，你几乎不能得立。你立后，想把吴国的一部分分给我，我却不敢奢望。现在你竟然听小人的话来杀长者！”于是对门客说：“一定要在我坟上种梓树，使它长大能做棺材；再挖出我的眼珠挂在吴国东门上，我要看着越人入都灭吴。”于是自



set against it that he is undermining our efforts in the hope that we will fail, and thus prove him right. You are going to lead the campaign in person with all the armed forces of the state, yet Wu Zixu, because his advice was disregarded, has excused himself from going on the pretext of illness. Be very vigilant, sir! He could easily start a rebellion. Besides, I have sent men to watch his movements. When he went on that mission to Qi, he entrusted his son to a family there named Bao. He is your subject, yet in his dissatisfaction he has found a protector elsewhere. He is always complaining that he was your father's adviser but is now no longer trusted. I hope you will take steps against him in good time."

The king said, "I had my suspicions before you spoke." He sent a messenger to give Wu Zixu his sword *Shulou* with the order, "You may kill yourself with this."

Wu Zixu cast up his eyes to heaven and sighed. "Ah, that slanderer Bo Pi is plotting treason, but you, my king, are punishing me instead! I made your father a mighty conqueror. Before you came to the throne many princes were contending for it, and had I not fought for you with the last king you would never have been enthroned. After you became king you offered me half your kingdom, but I declined. Now, taken in by the words of a flatterer, you are killing your senior statesman." He instructed his steward, "Plant catalpas over my grave to provide a coffin for the king in time to come. Pluck out my eyes and hang them over the East Gate to see when the Yue invaders break through and destroy our state." With that he cut his throat.

These words so enraged the king that he had Wu Zixu's corpse

【原文】

大怒，乃取子胥尸盛以鸱夷革，浮之江中。吴人怜之，为立祠于江上，因命曰胥山。

吴王既诛伍子胥，遂伐齐。齐鲍氏杀其君悼公而立阳生。吴王欲讨其贼，不胜而去。其后二年，吴王召鲁卫之君会之橐皋。其明年，因北大会诸侯于黄池，以令周室。越王句践袭杀吴太子，破吴兵。吴王闻之，乃归，使使厚币与越平。后九年，越王句践遂灭吴，杀王夫差；而诛太宰嚭，以不忠于其君，而外受重赂，与己比周也。

伍子胥初所与俱亡故楚太子建之子胜者，在于吴。吴王夫差之时，楚惠王欲召胜归楚。叶公谏曰：“胜好勇而阴求死士，殆有私乎！”惠王不听。遂召胜，使居楚之边邑鄢，号为白公。白公

【今译】

刎而死。吴王听说之后，大发雷霆，就把他的尸体装进皮袋，漂在江上。吴人怜悯他，便在江边给他立祠，山名曰胥山。

夫差杀了伍子胥，便进攻齐国。齐国的鲍氏杀了齐悼公而立阳生。夫差想去讨伐，没有胜利就离开了。又过了两年，夫差召鲁、卫二君会于橐皋。第二年，趁势北上在黄池大会诸侯，以逼使周王承认其地位。这时，句践袭吴，杀了吴太子，打败吴兵。吴王闻知，马上回国，派人用重金向越国求和。九年后，越王句践灭吴，杀了吴王夫差；同时杀了伯嚭，因为他不忠于其君，外受巨贿，私下勾结越国。

当初和伍子胥一起逃亡的故楚太子建的儿子胜，也在吴国。吴王夫差时，楚惠王想把他召回楚。叶公劝谏道：“胜好斗，又暗访死士，恐怕会有野心！”惠王不从。于是召回了胜，让他住在边邑鄢，称他为白公。白公回楚的第三年，吴国杀了





stuffed in a leather sack and thrown into the river. The men of Wu, grieving over Wu Zixu, built a temple to him by the river and renamed the hill there Mount Zixu.

After killing Wu Zixu, King Fucha set out on his expedition against Qi. The Bao clan of Qi killed Duke Dao and set up Yangsheng in his place, but King Fucha failed to crush their rebellion and withdrew. Two years later he summoned the princes of Lu and Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.) to a conference at Tuogao.

The following year he went north and held a great conference with the heads of all the states at Huangchi, posing as the protector of Zhou. Then King Goujian of Yue launched a sudden attack, killed the crown prince of Wu and routed Wu's army. When King Fucha heard this he went back, sending envoys with rich gifts to sue for peace.

Nine years later King Goujian destroyed Wu and killed King Fucha. He also put to death the chief minister Bo Pi because he had been disloyal to his sovereign, collaborated with another state and considered only his own selfish interests.

Wu Zixu, at his first coming to Wu, had been accompanied by Sheng, son of Crown Prince Jian, who had also fled from Chu. During the reign of Fucha of Wu, King Hui of Chu wanted to recall Sheng, but the lord of Ye advised against it, saying, "Sheng sets store by military prowess and is quietly assembling men ready to die for him. He may be plotting something." King Hui did not listen to this warning but summoned Sheng back and installed him in the frontier district of Yan with the title lord of Bai. Three years after Sheng's return to Chu, Wu Zixu was killed.

【原文】

归楚三年而吴诛子胥。

白公胜既归楚，怨郑之杀其父，乃阴养死士求报郑。归楚五年，请伐郑，楚令尹子西许之。兵未发而晋伐郑，郑请救于楚。楚使子西往救，与盟而还。白公胜怒曰：“非郑之仇，乃子西也！”胜自砺剑，人问曰：“何以为？”胜曰：“欲以杀子西。”子西闻之，笑曰：“胜如卵耳，何能为也！”

其后四岁，白公胜与石乞袭杀楚令尹子西、司马子綦于朝。石乞曰：“不杀王，不可。”乃劫王如高府。石乞从者屈固负楚惠王亡走昭夫人之宫。叶公闻白公为乱，率其国人攻白公。白公之徒败，亡走山中，自杀。而虏石乞，而问白公尸处，不言将亨。石乞曰：“事成为卿，不成而亨，固其职也。”终不肯告其尸处。

【今译】

伍子胥。

白公胜回楚国后，恨郑杀了自己的父亲，就暗养死士要报仇。回楚五年后，要求攻郑，楚令尹子西答应了他。楚军尚未出发，晋就攻郑，郑向楚求救。楚就派子西去救，结盟而回。白公胜怒道：“我不恨郑国，而恨子西！”有次他亲自磨剑，有人问他：“你磨剑干吗？”他说：“要用它杀子西。”子西听说了，笑道：“胜像个鸡蛋罢了，能干什么呢！”

四年后，白公胜和石乞在朝堂上袭杀了楚令尹子西和司马子綦。石乞说：“不杀楚王不行。”于是把楚惠王劫持到高府。石乞的随从屈固背着楚惠王逃到昭王夫人的住所。叶公听说白公作乱，便带他的国人攻打白公。白公败逃到山里，自杀了。叶公俘虏了石乞，问白公尸体所在，不说就烹他。石乞说：“成则为卿，败则受烹，本就是职责所在。”到底不肯说出白公尸体所在。于





After the lord of Bai returned to Chu, he nursed a grievance against the state of Zheng for killing his father, and secretly kept armed men to seek revenge. Five years later he asked permission to attack Zheng, and the chief minister Zixi agreed. But before the expedition set out, Zheng was invaded by Jin and begged Chu for aid. Then Chu sent Zixi to the rescue, and he returned after making a pact with Zheng.

The lord of Bai was angry and declared, "It seems Zixi is my enemy, not Zheng!" He whetted his sword and, when asked the reason, replied, "This is to kill Zixi!"

When Zixi heard this he said with a laugh, "That egg-shell Sheng, what can he do to me?"

Four years later the lord of Bai and his follower Shi Qi fell on the Chu chief minister Zixi and the war minister Ziqi and killed them.

Then Shi Qi said, "We must kill the king as well."

They pursued the king, who fled to the Gao Mansion. One of Shi Qi's retainers, Qu Gu, carried the king on his back to the queen mother's palace. When the lord of Ye heard that the lord of Bai had rebelled, he led his men to attack him. With the defeat of his followers, the lord of Bai fled into the mountains and killed himself. Shi Qi was captured and threatened with death in the cauldron if he refused to disclose where his master's corpse lay.

"Had we succeeded," replied Shi Qi, "I should have been a high minister. Now that we have failed, it is my duty to die in the cauldron." He refused to say where his lord had died and so he was boiled alive.



【原文】

遂亨石乞，而求惠王复立之。

太史公曰：怨毒之于人甚矣哉！王者尚不能行之于臣下，况同列乎！向令伍子胥从奢俱死，何异蝼蚁。弃小义，雪大耻，名垂于后世，悲夫！方子胥窘于江上，道乞食，志岂尝须臾忘郢邪？故隐忍就功名，非烈丈夫孰能致此哉？白公如不自立为君者，其功谋亦不可胜道者哉！

【今译】

是叶公烹杀石乞，找到惠王后又立他为王。

太史公说：怨毒对于人太可怕了！王者尚且不能结怨于臣下，何况同辈呢！假设伍子胥跟伍奢一块儿死，和蝼蚁有什么分别。弃小节，雪大耻，名垂千古，悲壮啊！子胥困窘于江边，乞食途中时，心里何尝忘过报仇呢？所以隐忍以成功名，不是烈丈夫谁能做到？白公若不自立为君王，他的事业谋略也是不可尽言的啊！





Then they found King Hui and restored him to the throne.

The Grand Historian comments: How deeply resentment rankles in men's hearts! A ruler cannot afford to offend his subjects, much less one of his peers. Had Wu Zixu died with his father, he would have had no more significance than an ant. But setting aside minor scruples to wipe out a great wrong, he made a name that has come down to later ages. Alas for him! Whether hard pressed by the river or begging for food by the roadside, he never for a moment forgot the Chu capital. He endured disgrace to achieve great deeds and fame, and none but a true hero could have done this. If the lord of Bai had not aspired to the throne, his practical achievements and good advice would also have been remarkable.



商君列传

【原文】

商君者，卫之诸庶孽公子也，名鞅，姓公孙氏，其祖本姬姓也。鞅少好刑名之学，事魏相公叔座为中庶子。公叔座知其贤，未及进。会座病，魏惠王亲往问病，曰：“公叔病有如不可讳，将奈社稷何？”公叔曰：“座之中庶子公孙鞅，年虽少，有奇才，愿王举国而听之。”王嘿然。王且去，座屏人言曰：“王即不听用鞅，必杀之，无令出境。”王许诺而去。公叔座召鞅谢曰：“今者王问可以为相者，我言若，王色不许我。我方先君后臣，因谓王即弗用鞅，当杀之。王许我。汝可疾去矣，且见禽。”鞅曰：“彼

【今译】

商君是卫君妾所生的儿子，名鞅，姓公孙，他的祖先本来姓姬。商鞅年轻时喜欢刑名之学，事奉魏相国公叔座做了中庶子。公叔座了解他的才能，还没来得及向魏王推荐。适逢公叔座病了，魏惠王亲自去探病，说：“万一你的病有个好歹，国家怎么办？”公叔座说：“我的中庶子公孙鞅，年纪虽轻，但有特殊的才能，希望大王能把国家大事全交给他。”惠王默然。魏惠王将要离开时，公叔座屏退左右说：“大王若不能用他，就一定要杀掉他，不要让他走出国境。”魏惠王答应后走了。公叔座召来商鞅道歉说：“刚才大王问我谁可任相国，我推荐了你，看大王的神色不会答应。我当先忠于君主，然后顾及臣下，因而劝大王，如果不能用你，便杀了你。大王答应了。你快走吧，否则就要被抓



Lord Shang

Lord Shang was descended, through a concubine, from the royal house of Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.). His personal name was Yang, his clan name Gongsun, and his ancestors had been of the royal Ji clan. As a youth he was interested in the study of law and served as clan officer under Gongshu Zuo, the prime minister of Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.), who recognized his ability but lacked opportunity to recommend him.

When Gongshu Zuo fell ill, King Hui of Wei went in person to inquire after him and asked, "If anything should happen to you, what will become of my state?"

"My clan officer Gongsun Yang, although young, has remarkable gifts," replied Gongshu Zuo. "I hope you will entrust affairs of state to him."

The king was silent and prepared to leave. The prime minister sent everyone else away and said, "If you do not mean to take my advice and employ him, then have Yang killed. Don't let him leave the country."

The king agreed to this, and left.

Then Gongshu Zuo sent for Yang and told him regretfully, "Today the king asked me to suggest to successor. When I recommended you, I saw disapproval written on his face. So, putting my sovereign's interest first, I urged him to kill you if he would not use your services, and he agreed to do this. You must leave without delay, or you will be caught."

【原文】

王不能用君之言任臣，又安能用君之言杀臣乎？”卒不去。惠王既去，而谓左右曰：“公叔病甚，悲乎，欲令寡人以国听公孙鞅也，岂不悖哉！”

公叔既死，公孙鞅闻秦孝公下令国中求贤者，将修穆公之业，东复侵地。乃遂西入秦，因孝公宠臣景监以求见孝公。孝公既见卫鞅，语事良久，孝公时时睡，弗听。罢而孝公怒景监曰：“子之客妄人耳，安足用邪！”景监以让卫鞅。卫鞅曰：“吾说公以帝道，其志不开悟矣。”后五日，复求见鞅。鞅复见孝公，益愈，然而未中旨。罢而孝公复让景监，景监亦让鞅。鞅曰：“吾说公以王道而未入也。请复见鞅。”鞅复见孝公，孝公善之而未用也。罢而去，孝公谓景监曰：“汝客善，可与语矣。”鞅曰：“吾说公以霸道，其意

【今译】

了。”商鞅说：“大王不能听你的话用我，又怎能听你的话杀我呢？”终于没有离开。惠王离开后，对随从说：“公叔座病得厉害，可悲呀，他要我把国事交给公孙鞅，这不是糊涂吗！”

公叔座死后，商鞅听说秦孝公下令全国求贤，想要重整穆公霸业，向东收复失地，就向西入秦，通过秦孝公宠臣景监求见孝公。孝公召见商鞅，谈了很久，孝公却时时打瞌睡，不听他的。商鞅退出，孝公迁怒景监道：“你的客人是个无知妄言之徒，怎么能任用！”景监拿这话责备商鞅。商鞅说：“我以帝道进言，看来他不能领悟。”过了五天，景监再请孝公见商鞅。商鞅又见孝公，谈得更多，但还是不合孝公的心意。见过商鞅后，孝公又责备景监，景监又责备商鞅。商鞅说：“我以王道进言，还是没听进去。请你让他再见我。”商鞅又见秦孝公，孝公认为他说得好，但没采纳。商鞅退出。孝公对景监说：“你的客人不错，可以同他谈谈。”景监告诉商鞅，商鞅说：“我以霸道进言，看来他是要采





"If the king ignored your advice to employ me," said Yang, "why should he take your advice to have me killed?" And he did not leave.

After this interview King Hui told his followers, "I'm afraid the prime minister is in a bad way. He urged me to entrust affairs of state to Gongsun Yang — how absurd!"

After Gongshu's death, Yang heard that Duke Xiao of Qin was trying to recruit men of talent to continue the achievements of Duke Mu and recover the territory Qin had lost in the east. He went west to Qin and obtained an audience with the duke through the offices of his favourite eunuch Jing. Yang held forth at great length but Duke Xiao did not listen and kept dropping off to sleep. The duke afterwards complained to Jing, "Your friend is a fool. How could I use such a man?"

When Jing reproached Yang, the latter said, "I spoke to him about the emperors' way, but he lacks the necessary enlightenment." Five days later, at another audience, he did better, although it still was not what the duke wanted. Duke Xiao complained once more to Jing, who reproached Yang again.

"I spoke about the kingly way," said Yang, "but he could not accept that either. I must beg for another audience."

This time the duke was pleased with Yang but did not take him into his service. After he had withdrawn, the duke told Jing, "Your protégé is all right. I can talk with him."



【原文】

欲用之矣。诚复见我，我知之矣。”卫鞅复见孝公。公与语，不自知膝之前于席也。语数日不厌。景监曰：“子何以中吾君？吾君之欢甚也。”鞅曰：“吾说君以帝王之道比三代，而君曰‘久远，吾不能待。且贤君者，各及其身显名天下，安能邑邑待数十百年以成帝王乎？’故吾以强国之术说君，君大说之耳。然亦难以比德于殷、周矣。”

孝公既用卫鞅，鞅欲变法，恐天下议己。卫鞅曰：“疑行无名，疑事无功。且夫有高人之行者，固见非于世；有独知之虑者，必见敖于民。愚者暗于成事，知者见于未萌。民不可与虑始而可与

【今译】

纳了。如果再召见我，我知道说什么了。”于是又见孝公。孝公与商鞅交谈着，不知不觉移动膝盖到垫席前头靠近了商鞅。谈了几天仍不知疲倦。景监问商鞅：“你用什么打动了我们国君？他特别高兴。”商鞅说：“我用五帝、三王的道理向他进言，劝他比照三代，可他说：‘太久远了，我不能等待。况且贤能之君，都希望当世名扬天下，怎能无声无息地等几十上百年才成帝王大业呢！’所以我用富国强兵的方法向他进言，他就格外高兴。可是这也就不能和殷周比量德政了！”

孝公用商鞅后，商鞅想要变法，孝公担心秦人议论自己。商鞅说：“行动上犹豫，搞不成名堂；事业上犹豫，建不成功绩。况且超出常人行迹的人，本来会受到世俗非难；具有独到见解的人，必定受到一般人的诋毁。愚人对既成事实还弄不明白，聪明人却能料事于先。谋划大事不能跟老百姓商讨，只能够事后让他



"I spoke of the conquerors' way," said Yang, "so now he is thinking of using me. I know how to talk with him next time I see him."

At their next meeting the duke unconsciously moved forward to sit closer to Yang. He spoke with him without wearying for several days.

"How did you make such a good impression?" asked Jing. "My master is delighted."

"I spoke to him first of the emperors' way and the kingly way, drawing comparison with the Three Dynasties," Yang explained. "But the duke said, 'That would take too long, I cannot wait. A good ruler should make his mark in the world in his lifetime, not wait for a century to achieve the emperors' or the kingly way.' I then told him how to make his state powerful, and he was overjoyed. But he will hardly equal Shang and Zhou."

Upon entering Duke Xiao's employment, Yang asked to introduce reforms, but the duke was afraid of popular discontent.

"Those who hesitate to act win no fame, those who falter in their course achieve nothing," reasoned Yang. "Those who outdo others are condemned by the world. Those who see further than others are mocked by the mob. Fools are blind to what already exists whereas the wise perceive what is yet to come. It is no use consulting the people at the start, but one can enjoy the fruits with them. Those whose virtue is

【原文】

乐成。论至德者不和于俗，成大功者不谋于众。是以圣人苟可以强国，不法其故；苟可以利民，不循其礼。”孝公曰：“善。”甘龙曰：“不然。圣人不易民而教，知者不变法而治。因民而教，不劳而成功；缘法而治者，吏习而民安之。”卫鞅曰：“龙之所言，世俗之言也。常人安于故俗，学者溺于所闻。以此两者居官守法可也，非所与论于法之外也。三代不同礼而王，五伯不同法而霸。智者作法，愚者制焉；贤者更礼，不肖者拘焉。”杜挚曰：“利不百，不变法；功不十，不易器。法古无过，循礼无邪。”卫鞅曰：“治世不一道，便国不法古。故汤、武不循古而王，夏、殷不易礼

【今译】

们分享事业成功的利益。谈论高深道理的人不迎合习俗，成大功业的人不跟一般人商量。因此圣人只要能够使国家强盛，就不必效法陈规；只要有利于百姓，就不必遵循古制。”孝公说：“好。”甘龙说：“不对。圣人不变更民俗而教化，聪明的人不改变法制而使国家得到治理。沿袭民俗而教化，可以不付出劳动而成功；沿袭成法治国，官吏习惯，百姓相安。”商鞅说：“甘龙所说的是世俗之言。俗人安于旧习，学者囿于自己所闻。这两种人，居官守法还可以，却不能和他们讨论常法以外的事情。三代礼制不同，却各成王业，五霸法制各异，却各成霸业。智者创立法度，愚人为它所制；贤人变更礼制，庸人为它所拘。”杜挚说：“没有百倍的利益，不变更旧法度；没有十倍的功用，不换掉旧器物。遵循古法，可以无过失；因循旧礼，可以无偏差。”商鞅说：“治理国家的方法不只一种，有利于国家的事情就不必依照古法。所以汤武不守古法，却统一了天下；桀纣不变旧礼，却遭到





highest do not compromise with the common herd, those whose achievements are greatest do not consult the mob. A wise ruler who knows how to strengthen his state will not abide by old traditions; one who knows how to profit the people will not cling to conventions."

The duke approved.

But Gan Long¹ said, "Not so. A sage does not teach the people to change their ways, a wise sovereign does not rule by discarding tradition. He who educates the people in accordance with custom succeeds without any trouble; he who rules according to established laws will have competent officers and satisfied subjects."

Yang replied, "Gan Long talks like one of the vulgar herd. The common run of men cling to conventions, while scholars are smothered by their own learning. They are all adequate at sticking to official routine, but not the sort of people with whom to discuss other matters. The Three Dynasties were each governed according to different traditions, and the Five Conquerors² each prevailed by different policies. The wise make laws; the foolish keep them. The able alter the conventions; the foolish are bound by them."

Du Zhi³ said, "Never change your way except for a hundredfold profit. Never alter a tool except for a tenfold advantage. We cannot go wrong if we follow the ancient way. We cannot err by keeping to conventions."

"There are many ways of governing," retorted Yang. "To benefit the state we need not follow the ancients. Tang and Wu of old ruled as kings without following the ancients, and the Xia and Shang Dynasties perished through keeping the conventions unchanged. We must not

【原文】

而亡。复古者不可非，而循礼者不足多。”孝公曰：“善。”以卫鞅为左庶长，卒定变法之令。

令民为什伍，而相牧司连坐。不告奸者腰斩，告奸者与斩敌首同赏，匿奸者与降敌同罚。民有二男以上不分异者，倍其赋。有军功者，各以率受上爵；为私斗者，各以轻重被刑大小。僇力本业，耕织致粟帛多者，复其身。事末利及怠而贫者，举以为收孥。宗室非有军功论，不得为属籍。明尊卑爵秩等级，各以差次名田宅，臣妾衣服以家次。有功者显荣，无功者虽富无所芬华。

令既具，未布，恐民之不信，已乃立三丈之木于国都市南门，

【今译】

了灭亡。反对古法的人不能非难，遵循古礼的人不值得称赞。”孝公说：“好。”任商鞅为左庶长，下达了变法的命令。

按照新法，百姓十家为“什”，五家为“伍”，互相监督检举，一家犯法，十家连坐。不告发坏人的腰斩，告发坏人的跟斩杀敌人一样受赏，窝藏坏人的跟投降敌人一样处罚。民家有两个以上成年男子而不分居另立门户的，一人缴两人的税。立了军功的，按功劳大小升爵受赏；为私利争斗的，按情节轻重处以刑罚。努力务农，精耕勤织，因而获得粮食、布帛丰产的，免除本人的徭役或赋税。纠举从事工商和因懒惰而贫穷的人，没入官府做奴婢。国君亲属宗族不是立有战功经过评定，不得列入谱牒。明确规定尊卑爵禄的等级，各按其等占有土地、房屋，奴婢数量、衣料式样等，按各家爵禄等级决定。有军功的享受荣耀，无军功的，即使富有，也没有值得显示尊崇的地位。

新法已准备就绪，还没公布，怕老百姓不相信，于是在咸阳市市场南门立一根三丈长的大木杆，招募百姓中有能把它搬移到北



condemn those who oppose the ancients or praise those who abide by conventions."

"Well said!" approved Duke Xiao. He appointed Yang adjutant general and laid down new laws.

The people were divided into groups of five and ten households, mutually responsible for each other. Those who failed to denounce a criminal would be cut in two; those who denounced him would be rewarded as if they had beheaded an enemy; those who harboured a criminal would be punished as if they had surrendered to the enemy. Families with two or more grown sons not living in separate households had to pay a double tax. Those who distinguished themselves in war would be rewarded with noble rank according to merit. Those who carried on private feuds would be punished according to their offence. The people had to work hard at the fundamental occupations of farming and weaving, and those who harvested most grain or produced most silk would be exempted from levies. Those who followed subsidiary occupations like trade, or who were idle and poor, would have their wives and sons enslaved. Nobles who failed to distinguish themselves in war would lose their noble status. The social hierarchy was clearly defined and each rank allotted its appropriate land property, retainers, women slaves clothing. Those who achieved worthy deeds would be honoured; those who did not, even if they were wealthy, could not make a splendid display.

When these reforms were ready to be promulgated, the authorities, fearing that the people would disregard them, set up a wooden pillar thirty feet high at the south gate of the market and offered a reward of



【原文】

募民有能徙置北门者予十金。民怪之，莫敢徙。复曰“能徙者予五十金。”有一人徙之，辄予五十金，以明不欺。卒下令。

令行于民期年，秦民之国都言初令之不便者以千数。于是太子犯法。卫鞅曰：“法之不行，自上犯之。”将法太子。太子，君嗣也，不可施刑，刑其傅公子虔，黥其师公孙贾。明日，秦人皆趋令。行之十年，秦民大说，道不拾遗，山无盗贼，家给人足。民勇于公战，怯于私斗，乡邑大治。秦民初言令不便者有来言令便者，卫鞅曰“此皆乱化之民也”，尽迁之于边城。其后民莫敢议令。

于是以鞅为大良造，将兵围魏安邑，降之。居三年，作为筑

【今译】

门的，赏十金。百姓奇怪，没人敢移。又宣布：“能搬移的给五十金。”于是有一个人搬移了木杆，就给了他五十金，以此表明令出必行，决不欺骗。接着公布了新法令。

新法实行了一年，秦人到国都投诉新法不便利的数以千计。正在这时，太子也触犯了新法。商鞅说：“新法行不通，是由于上面的人先犯法。”将依法惩办太子。太子是国君的继承人，不能施刑，就处罚了太傅公子虔，太师公孙贾被处以墨刑。第二天，秦人都守法了。新法实行了十年，秦人非常满意，路不拾遗，深山里也没有盗贼，家家富裕，人人饱暖。百姓勇于为国作战，不敢私斗，乡镇安定。秦人当初说新法不当的百姓中，有人又来说新法好处的，商鞅就说“这些都是扰乱教化的人”，把他们全都迁到边境。从此，老百姓再也没有人胆敢议论新法了。

于是任命商鞅作大良造，领兵围攻魏国安邑，安邑降服。过



ten gold pieces to anyone who would move it to the north gate. The people were sceptical and no one dared move it. Then a reward of fifty gold pieces was offered. A man moved the pillar and received the reward, proving that the authorities meant what they said. After that, the new decrees were issued.

Within a year, the subjects of Qin were flocking to the capital in thousands to complain of the new measures. And then the crown prince broke the law.

"These reforms are not working because those at the top are breaking the law," said Yang. He wanted to penalize the crown prince, but, since the heir apparent could not be punished, his guardian Lord Qian was punished in his stead while his tutor Lord Jia had his face tattooed. From the next day on all the people of Qin obeyed the laws.

By the end of ten years the people were well content. Nothing lost on the road was picked up and pocketed, the hills were free of brigands, every household was comfortably off, men fought bravely in war but avoided private feuds, and villages and towns were well-governed. When some of the citizens who had first complained of the reforms now came to praise them, Yang said, "These are trouble-makers." These men were banished to frontier towns, after which no more discussion of the laws was heard.

Then Yang was promoted to the sixteenth rank, the highest rank in Qin being the twentieth. He led an army to besiege Anyi in Wei (403B.



【原文】

冀阙宫庭于咸阳，秦自雍徙都之。而令民父子兄弟同室内息者为禁，而集小都乡邑聚为县，置令、丞，凡三十一县。为田开阡陌封疆，而赋税平。平斗桶权衡丈尺。行之四年，公子虔复犯约，劓之。居五年秦人富强，天子致胙于孝公，诸侯毕贺。

其明年，齐败魏兵于马陵，虏其太子申，杀将军庞涓。其明年，卫鞅说孝公曰：“秦之与魏，譬若人之有腹心疾，非魏并秦，秦即并魏。何者？魏居领厄之西，都安邑，与秦界河而独擅山东之利。利则西侵秦，病则东收地。今以君之贤圣，国赖以盛。而魏往年大破于齐，诸侯畔之，可因此时伐魏。魏不支秦，必东徙。东徙，秦据河山之固，东向以制诸侯，此帝王之业也。”孝公以为

【今译】

了三年，秦在咸阳修建魏阙宫廷，把国都从雍地迁来。下令禁止老百姓父子兄弟同居一室，把小的城镇村落合并为县，设置县令、县丞，共三十一个县。废除原有的田塍疆界，扩大耕地面积，而使赋税平衡。统一度量衡。施行了四年，公子虔又犯法了，处以劓刑。过了五年，秦国富强，天子把祭肉赐给孝公，诸侯都来祝贺。

下一年，齐在马陵打败魏军，俘虏魏太子申，杀死将军庞涓。又下一年，商鞅劝孝公说：“秦和魏，好像一个人患有心腹疾病，不是魏吞并秦，就是秦吞并魏。为什么？魏处在山岭险要的西部，建都安邑，跟秦国以黄河为界，独得了崤山以东的地利。条件有利，就可以向西犯秦；不利，就可以向东扩展。如今靠大王的英明才干，秦国强盛。而魏去年大败于齐，诸侯反叛它，可趁此机会攻打魏国。魏国不敌，定然东迁。东迁，秦就占有了黄河崤山的险要地势，向东控制诸侯，这是帝王大业啊！”孝公认为



C.-225B.C.), and subjugated the city. Three years later, he built a palace with archways at Xianyang, and the duke moved his capital there from Yong.

Then fathers, sons and brothers were forbidden to live in one house, small villages and towns were grouped together as counties, with magistrates and vice-magistrates over them. The state was divided into thirty-one of these counties; the old boundaries between the fields were abolished; regular taxation was introduced; and weights and measures were standardized. Four years later, the prince's guardian Lord Qian broke the law again and his nose was cut off. After five years Qin was so wealthy and powerful that the king of Zhou sent sacrificial meat to the duke, and all the states offered congratulations.

The following year Qi defeated the army of Wei at Maling, capturing Crown Prince Shen and killing General Pang Juan.

The next year Yang advised the duke, "Wei is like a cancer in our heart. Either Wei will annex us, or we must annex Wei. For they lie west of the mountains with their capital at Anyi, separated from us by the Yellow River but possessing all the advantages of the east. They can march west to invade us whenever they please, or hold their land in the east if they are weak. Thanks to Your Majesty's wisdom our state is prospering, whereas Wei was heavily defeated by Qi last year and all their allies have left them. This is the time to attack. When they withdraw, unable to resist us, we can seize the strongholds of the mountains and the Yellow River and control the other states in the east. This is the task for a king!"

【原文】

然，使卫鞅将而伐魏。魏使公子卬将而击之。军既相距，卫鞅遗魏将公子卬书曰：“吾始与公子欢，今俱为两国将，不忍相攻。可与公子面相见，盟，乐饮而罢兵，以安秦、魏。”魏公子卬以为然。会盟已，饮，而卫鞅伏甲士而袭虏魏公子卬，因攻其军，尽破之以归秦。魏惠王兵数破于齐、秦，国内空，日以削，恐，乃使使割河西之地献于秦以和。而魏遂去安邑，徙都大梁。梁惠王曰：“寡人恨不用公叔座之言也。”卫鞅既破魏还，秦封之於、商十五邑，号为商君。

商君相秦十年，宗室贵戚多怨望者。赵良见商君。商君曰：“鞅之得见也，从孟兰皋，今鞅请得交，可乎？”赵良曰：“仆弗敢愿也。孔丘有言曰：‘推贤而戴者进，聚不肖而王者退。’仆不

【今译】

对，派商鞅率兵攻魏。魏派公子卬领兵迎击。两军相对抗后，商鞅给魏公子卬送信说：“我当初和公子交好，现在都成了两国大将，不忍心互相攻杀，可以同公子会面结盟，欢饮撤兵，使秦魏两国都安定。”魏公子卬觉得对。会盟结束，喝起酒来，而商鞅埋伏的士兵突然袭击，俘虏魏公子卬，并乘势攻打魏军，大胜回国。魏惠王屡次被齐秦打败，国内空虚，势力渐衰，恐慌起来，就派人说割河西地区给秦以求和。而魏离开安邑，迁都大梁。魏惠王说：“我后悔没采纳公叔座的意见啊。”商鞅破魏返秦，秦把於、商等十五邑封给他，称商君。

商鞅任秦相十年，很多宗室贵戚怨恨他。赵良去见商鞅。商鞅说：“我见到你，是由孟兰皋的介绍，现在我想和你交个朋友，可以吗？”赵良说：“我不敢抱这样的希望。孔子说：‘推举贤能，爱民有才的人就会来；招揽不贤，讲王道的人就会引退。’我不





The duke, approving, gave him an army to attack Wei, whose king dispatched troops under Lord Ang to resist. When both forces confronted each other, Yang sent Lord Ang this message, "We are old friends, yet now we are commanding hostile armies. I cannot bear the thought of fighting you. Let us meet to pledge our faith and feast together, then withdraw our troops so that our states may live at peace."

Lord Ang agreed to this. The two commanders made a pledge and, as they were drinking together, armed men whom Yang had set in ambush seized Lord Ang. Then the Qin troops fell upon the army of Wei and after routing it returned home. Since Wei had been defeated by both Qi and Qin, King Hui of Wei's resources were exhausted and his territory was dwindling away. In fear he sent an envoy to sue for peace, offering the land west of the Yellow River to the duke of Qin. Then King Hui moved his capital from Anyi to Daliang, saying, "I should have taken Gongshu Zuo's advice!"

Upon Yang's return from defeating the Wei army, the duke gave him fifteen towns in Shang and Wu as his fief, and he became known as Lord Shang.

For ten years Lord Shang was prime minister of Qin, and many of the nobles hated him.

Zhao Liang⁴ asked for an interview with him, and Lord Shang told him, "I owe this introduction to Meng Langao. May I ask you to be my friend too?"

"I must decline the honour," Zhao Liang replied. "Confucius said, 'One who shows his love for the people by recommending good men succeeds. One who assembles inferior men to rule fails.' As an inferior



【原文】

肖，故不敢受命。仆闻之，曰‘非其位而居之曰贪位，非其名而有之曰贪名。’仆听君之义，则恐仆贪位、贪名也。故不敢闻命。”商君曰：“子不说吾治秦与？”赵良曰：“反听之谓聪，内视之谓明，自胜之谓强。虞舜有言曰：‘自卑也尚矣。’君不若道虞舜之道，无为问仆矣。”商君曰：“始秦戎翟之教，父子无别，同室而居。今我更制其教，而为其男女之别，大筑冀阙，营如鲁卫矣。子观我治秦也，孰与五羖大夫贤？”赵良曰：“千羊之皮，不如一狐之腋；千人之诺诺，不如一士之谔谔。武王谔谔以昌，殷纣墨墨以亡。君若不非武王乎，则仆请终日正言而无诛，可乎？”商君曰：“语有之矣，貌言华也，至言实也，苦言药也，甘言疾也。夫子果肯终日正言，鞅之药也。鞅将事子，子又何辞焉！”赵

【今译】

贤，所以不敢从命。我还听说：‘占据了不该有的位置叫贪位，享有了不该有的名誉叫贪名。’倘若我接受你的厚谊，恐怕我就是贪位贪名了。所以不敢从命。”商鞅说：“你不满我对秦的治理吗？”赵良说：“能反省叫聪，能自视叫明，能自制叫强。虞舜说：‘虚心谦逊非常可贵。’您不如遵从虞舜的道理去做，无须问我了。”商鞅说：“当初秦国风俗同戎翟一样，父子没有分别，同室而居。如今我改变了这种风俗，使他们男女有别，又大筑冀阙，经营得像鲁卫一样。你看我治秦，和五羖大夫比，谁更好？”赵良说：“千张羊皮，抵不上一领狐腋；千人附和，抵不上一人直言。武王因左右多直言而兴盛，商纣因群臣不敢吭声而灭亡。如果你不反对武王的作法，那我就整天讲直言而请不要见怪，可以吗？”商鞅道：“古语说，应酬话虚浮，内心的话真诚，苦口危言是药石，甜言蜜语是病因。你肯跟我整天讲实话，就是我治病的药石



individual, I dare not accept your friendship. I have heard that 'claiming a position not rightly yours is greed, claiming a name not rightly yours is ambition.' Were I to do as you ask, sir, I should be guilty of both greed and ambition. So I dare not accept."

"Do you disapprove of my way of governing Qin?"

"The wise man considers carefully what he is told, the enlightened man looks within, the strong man masters himself. Thus King Shun said, 'He who humbles himself makes himself great.' You should follow the sage king's way, sir, instead of consulting me."

Lord Shang rejoined, "The men of Qin used to be like the barbarian tribes of Rong and Di, making no distinction between fathers and sons, and all living in the same room. Now I have changed those ways, segregating men and women. I have built palaces with archways like those of Lu and Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.). How would you say I compare with Baili Xi⁵ in governing the state?"

"A thousand sheepskins are not as good as one fox fur," replied Zhao Liang. "A thousand sycophants are not as good as one outspoken man. King Wu prospered thanks to frank advisers, while King Zhou, the last ruler of the Yin Dynasty, lost his state through silencing criticism. If you have no objection to King Wu's way, may I speak frankly without fear of punishment for the rest of my life?"

"As the old saying goes, 'Fair words are flowers, true words are fruit; reproof is medicine, flattery is disease.' By all means speak absolutely frankly. You will be administering medicine to me and I shall be



【原文】

良曰：“夫五羖大夫，荆之鄙人也。闻秦穆公之贤而愿望见，行而无资，自粥于秦客，被褐食牛。期年，穆公知之，举之牛口之下，而加之百姓之上，秦国莫敢望焉。相秦六七年，而东伐郑，三置晋国之君，一救荆国之祸。发教封内，而巴人致贡，施德诸侯，而八戎来服。由余闻之，款关请见。五羖大夫之相秦也，劳不坐乘，暑不张盖，行于国中，不从车乘，不操干戈。功名藏于府库，德行施于后世。五羖大夫死，秦国男女流涕，童子不歌谣，舂者不相杵。此五羖大夫之德也。今君之见秦王也，因嬖人景监以为主，非所以为名也。相秦不以百姓为事，而大筑冀阙，非所以为功也。刑黥太

【今译】

啊。我将拜先生为老师，先生又何必推辞呢！”赵良说：“五羖大夫，原是楚国的乡下人。他听说秦穆公是贤君，想去拜见，可是没有路费，就把自己卖给秦人，穿着粗布短衣给人看牛。一年后，穆公知道了，把他从牛口之下提拔起来，凌驾于百官之上，秦国没有人不满意。他任秦相六七年，东伐郑国，三立晋君，一次阻止楚国北进的祸患。在国内施行教化，巴人前来纳贡；教化影响到诸侯，四境的夷族前来归附。由余听到这种情况，叩关来投奔。五羖大夫做秦相，劳累了也不乘坐安车，大热天也不张伞盖，在都城行走，不用随从的车辆，不带防卫的武器。他的功业记在史册上，藏在府库中，德行流传给后代。五羖大夫死了，秦国男女都流泪，小孩子不唱歌，连舂米也不喊号子了。这就是五羖大夫的德行啊。现在您得见秦王，是靠宠幸小臣景监的介绍，这就谈不上名望了。做秦相不以百姓利益为重，却大筑冀阙，这就谈不上功业了。对太子的师傅施刑，用严刑伤害百



guided by you, sir. Pray don't hesitate."

So Zhao Liang said, "Baili Xi, a borderer of Chu, wanted to come to Qin because he heard that Duke Mu was a good ruler. Since he had no money for the journey, he sold himself as a slave to a native of Qin. He wore rags and tended cattle for over a year till the duke, hearing about him, took him from the herd and raised him above common citizens to the highest position in the land. After he had been prime minister for six or seven years, Qin attacked Zheng in the east, appointed three different rulers of Jin, and rescued Chu from ruin. He spread enlightenment throughout the state, and the men of Ba⁶ sent tribute. His virtue spread through all the land and even barbarians submitted to his rule. When Youyu⁷ heard of him, he crossed the frontier to see him. While in office, he rode in a standing, not a sitting chariot, even if he was tired, and never used an awning in hot weather. He toured the country without any equipage or armed retainers. His noble deeds are recorded in the archives, his virtue has influenced later generations. At his death, every man and woman in Qin shed tears, the children stopped singing, the millers stopped chanting as they pounded rice — such was his goodness.

"As for you, sir, you obtained an audience with the king of Qin through his eunuch Jing, which was hardly proper. During your administration you have done nothing for the people, simply building a host of archways and palaces, which is hardly to your credit. You have



【原文】

子之师傅，残伤民以峻刑，是积怨畜祸也。教之化民也深于命，民之效上也捷于令。今君又左建外易，非所以为教也。君又南面而称寡人，日绳秦之贵公子。《诗》曰：‘相鼠有体，人而无礼；人而无礼，何不遄死。’以诗观之，非所以为寿也。公子虔杜门不出已八年矣，君又杀祝懽而黥公孙贾。《诗》曰：‘得人者兴，失人者崩。’此数事者，非所以得人也。君之出也，后车十数，从车载甲，多力而骈协者为骖乘，持矛而操翣戟者旁车而趋。此一物不具，君固不出。《书》曰：‘恃德者昌，恃力者亡。’君之危若朝露，尚将欲延年益寿乎？则何不归十五都，灌园于鄙，劝秦王显岩穴之士，养老存孤，敬父兄，序有功，尊有德，可以少

【今译】

姓，这是积怨聚祸。您的教令影响人民比国君的命令还深刻，人民响应您的号召比国君的命令还迅速。如今您又凭借诈术建立威权，自作主张改变君命，这就谈不上施行教化了。您又据有高位，自比国君，天天用新法约束秦国贵族。《诗经》说：‘看那老鼠尚且有肢体，人却没有礼仪；人没有礼仪，不如作速死去。’从诗句来看，不是给您祝福啊。公子虔闭门不出已八年了，您又杀了祝懽，对公孙贾施以墨刑。《诗》说：‘得人心的就昌盛，失去人心的就失败。’您做的这几件事，都谈不上得人心啊。您出门，随从的车辆数以十计，车上载着武士，用身强力壮的人作随从，拿长矛交戟的卫队夹护着您的车子奔驰前进。这些东西缺少一样，您必然不敢出行。《书》上说：‘依恃德的就昌盛，依恃武力的就败亡。’您的性命像易失的朝露一样危险，还想延年益寿吗？那么为什么不交还商、於十五邑，到边远地方浇浇园子，劝秦王起用隐居山林的贤人，赡养老人，优抚小孩，敬重父兄，叙用



punished and tattooed the crown prince's tutor and guardian and mutilated the people with harsh penalties, arousing resentment and making enemies. It is more effective for a ruler to influence men than to give them orders, and subjects are quicker to imitate their superiors than to obey their commands; yet you introduce wrong systems and mistaken measures, which is no way to educate the people. You talk and act like a prince, and are pressing the nobles of Qin harder every day. The *Book of Songs* says, 'Even a rat knows what is proper, but some men do not. If a man does not know what is proper, the sooner he dies the better.' Judging by this, you are not likely to live long. For eight years Lord Qian has not ventured out of doors. You killed Zhu Huan too and had Lord Jia tattooed. According to the *Book of Songs*, 'He who wins support will prosper, he who loses support will fall.' Your actions are not such as win support.

"You drive out followed by a dozen carriages of retainers and with others full of guards, flanked by strong men, with lancers and halberdiers beside you. You will not stir abroad without all these precautions. The *Book of Documents* says, 'Those who rely on virtue will prosper, those who rely on force will perish.' You are as vulnerable as the morning dew and your expectation of life can hardly be long.

"You would do better to return those fifteen towns, work on some vegetable farm outside the city and urge the duke to honour recluses who live in mountain caves, to care for the old and helpless, to show respect to elders, and to reward and honour men of achieve-



【原文】

安。君尚将贪商、於之富，宠秦国之教，畜百姓之怨，秦王一旦捐宾客而不立朝，秦国之所以收君者，岂其微哉？亡可翘足而待。”商君弗从。

后五月而秦孝公卒，太子立。公子虔之徒告商君欲反，发吏捕商君。商君亡。至关下，欲舍客舍。客人不知其是商君也，曰：“商君之法，舍人无验者坐之。”商君喟然叹曰：“嗟乎！为法之敝一至此哉！”去之魏。魏人怨其欺公子卬而破魏师，弗受。商君欲之他国。魏人曰：“商君，秦之贼。秦强而贼入魏，弗归，不可。”遂内秦。商君既复入秦，走商邑，与其徒属发邑兵北出击郑。秦发兵攻商君，杀之于郑黽池。秦惠王车裂商君以徇，曰：

【今译】

有功的人，尊敬有德的人，这样您才能稍得安全。如果您还贪图商、於的富有，以专擅秦国大权而洋洋自得，结怨百姓，有朝一日秦王驾崩，秦国想抓您的人还少吗？您的灭亡很快要来了。”商鞅没有听从。

五个月后秦孝公去世，太子登位。公子虔的党徒告商鞅谋反，派人逮捕他。商鞅逃跑到边关，想住旅店。旅店主人不知他是商鞅，说：“商君法令规定，留宿没证件的人，店主要连带判罪。”商鞅慨然叹道：“唉，法令的遗害竟到了这个地步！”又逃到魏国。魏人恨他欺骗公子卬而打败魏军，不肯收留。商鞅要去别国，魏人说：“商鞅是秦的逃犯，秦国强大，逃犯逃入魏国，不送回不行。”魏人于是把商鞅送回秦。商鞅又入秦，跑到商邑，和他的部下发动士兵北攻郑地。秦出兵攻商鞅，在郑的黽池杀了他。秦惠王将商鞅五马分尸示众，说：“不要像商鞅这样造反！”



ments and virtue; for this would lessen your danger. If you cling to your rich estates, monopolize state power, and arouse the hatred of the common people, then the men of Qin will have ample reason to get rid of you once the duke dies. Your end will come as swift as a kick!"

But Lord Shang ignored his advice.

Five months later Duke Xiao of Qin died, and the crown prince came to the throne. The followers of his guardian Lord Qian accused Lord Shang of plotting revolt, and officers were sent to arrest him. He fled and sought lodging for the night in a frontier inn but the innkeeper, not knowing who he was, told him, "According to the laws of Lord Shang, I shall be punished if I take in a man without a permit."

Lord Shang sighed and said, "So I am suffering from my own laws!"

He went to Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.), but the men of Wei would not give him asylum, because his betrayal of Lord Ang and the defeat of their army still rankled. Before he could go elsewhere, they said, "Lord Shang is a traitor to Qin, and Qin is powerful. How can we let him escape through our territory?" So they turned him back.

Once in Qin again, Lord Shang fled to his fief and made his followers raise local troops to attack Zheng in the north. Qin sent an army against him and he was killed at Mianchi. King Hui of Qin had his corpse torn limb from limb by chariots as a warning to others, and



【原文】

“莫如商鞅反者！”遂灭商君之家。

太史公曰：商君其天资刻薄人也。迹其欲干孝公以帝王术，挟持浮说，非其质矣。且所因由嬖臣，及得用，刑公子虔，欺魏将卬，不师赵良之言，亦足发明商君之少恩矣。余尝读商君开塞、耕战书，与其人行事相类。卒受恶名于秦，有以也夫！

【今译】

就杀了商鞅全家。

太史公说：商鞅是个天性刻薄的人。看他当初要以帝王之道游说孝公，只是表面说说，并非发自内心。况且他靠国君宠幸的太监发迹，等到被任用，就施刑于公子卢，欺骗魏将公子卬，不听从赵良之劝，也足以证明他的刻薄少恩了。我曾读他的《开塞》、《耕战》等篇，内容与他本人行事相似。最后在秦得到叛逆恶名，这是有来由的呀！





decreed, "Let no man rebel like Lord Shang!" His family was wiped out.

The Grand Historian comments: Lord Shang had a cruel nature. His falseness was shown by the way in which he tried to impress the duke with the emperors' way and kingly way, just high-sounding talk in which he had no real interest. His inhumanity was revealed by the way he gained an audience through the duke's favourite, but after he was in power punished Lord Qian, tricked Lord Ang of Wei and turned a deaf ear to Zhao Liang's advice. I have read his dissertations on law and government, agriculture and war, which correspond to his actions. The bad end he finally came to in Qin was no more than he deserved.

¹ A minister of Qin.

² Duke Huan of Qi, Duke Wen of Jin, Duke Xiang of Song, Duke Mu of Qin and King Zhuang of Chu.

³ Another minister.

⁴ A respected recluse of Qin.

⁵ A minister of Duke Mu of Qin (659-621 B.C.).

⁶ In present-day Sichuan.

⁷ A famous strategist of Jin.



孟子荀卿列传

【原文】

太史公曰：余读《孟子》书，至梁惠王问“何以利吾国”，未尝不废书而叹也。曰：嗟乎，利诚乱之始也！夫子罕言利者，常防其原也。故曰“放于利而行，多怨”。自天子至于庶人，好利之弊何以异哉！

孟轲，邹人也。受业子思之门人。道既通，游事齐宣王。宣王不能用。适梁，梁惠王不果所言，则见以为迂远而阔于事情。当是之时，秦用商君，富国强兵；楚、魏用吴起，战胜弱敌；齐威王、宣王用孙子、田忌之徒，而诸侯东面朝齐。天下方务于合

【今译】

太史公说：我读《孟子》一书，读到梁惠王问“怎样有利于我的国家”，都忍不住放下书感慨一番。我还说：唉呀，功利实在是祸乱的开始呀！孔夫子很少谈功利，其原因在于经常要防备祸乱的根源。所以说“按照功利来行事，会有很多怨恨”。从天子到平民，喜好功利的毛病有什么差别呢！

孟轲，是邹国人。向子思的弟子求过学。事理已经通达后，就出游事奉齐宣王。宣王没能任用他。到大梁去后，梁惠王没有实行他的主张，认为他的话迂曲遥远并且空阔不切实际。在这时候，秦国任用商鞅，使国富兵强；楚国、魏国任用吴起，打了胜仗削弱了敌人；齐威王、宣王任用孙臆、田忌这些人，因而诸侯都东来朝见



Mencius and Xun Qing

The Grand Historian comments: When I read *Mencius* and come to the words, "King Hui of Liang asked Mencius, 'How shall I profit my state?' " I lay the book aside and sigh. Alas! I say, how true it is that profit is the root of all evil. The master seldom spoke of profit, always trying to check it at the source. Thus Mencius said, "Going all out for profit often leads to dissatisfaction." The evil consequences of seeking profit are the same for a common citizen or an emperor.

Meng Ke,¹ a native of Zou, was taught by a disciple of Zi Si. After he had mastered the Way he offered his services to King Xuan of Qi, but King Xuan could not use him. He went to Liang, but King Hui of Liang did not carry out his teachings, regarding Mencius as an impractical pedant.

This was the time when Qin was employing Lord Shang to enrich the state and strengthen the army, Chu and Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) were employing Wu Qi to defeat their weaker enemies, King Wei and King Xuan of Qi were employing men like Sun Bin and Tian Ji, while all the other states turned east to pay homage to Qi. The whole realm was divided into alliances with or against Qin and fighting was held in high



【原文】

从连衡，以攻伐为贤，而孟轲乃述唐、虞、三代之德，是以所如者不合。退而与万章之徒序《诗》《书》，述仲尼之意，作《孟子》七篇。其后有邹子之属。

齐有三邹子。其前邹忌，以鼓琴干威王，因及国政，封为成侯而受相印，先孟子。

其次邹衍，后孟子。邹衍睹有国者益淫侈，不能尚德，若《大雅》整之于身，施及黎庶矣。乃深观阴阳消息而作怪迂之变，《终始》、《大圣》之篇十余万言。其语闳大不经，必先验小物，推而大之，至于无垠。先序今以上至黄帝，学者所共术，大并世盛衰，因载其机祥度制，推而远之，至天地未生，窈冥不可考而原也。先

【今译】

齐王。天下正力求合纵连横，把攻城伐地当作贤能，可是孟轲却称述唐尧、虞舜和夏、商、周三代的功德，因此他所到的地方都不适合。返回来和万章这些人编订《诗经》、《尚书》，阐述孔子的意旨，写作《孟子》七篇。在他以后有邹子等人。

齐国三个邹子。在孟轲前的是邹忌，因藉弹琴之机求见齐威王，趁势谈及国政，他被封为成侯并接受了相印，时间先于孟子。

其次是邹衍，后于孟子。邹衍看到拥有国家的人更加荒淫奢侈，不能崇尚德政，而像《大雅》要求的那样整治自身，就能推行到平民百姓了。于是深入观察天地阴阳的消亡增长，并记述怪诞迂曲的变化，如《终始》、《大圣》这些篇十多万字。他的话空阔远大，没有根据，这必然先验证小的事物，推而广之，直到无边无际。先从现在往上直推到黄帝，是学者共同研讨的方法，大体随着时代的盛衰，就记载下它的吉凶和法度规律，推而远之，直到天地未形成的时候，深远奥妙而不能考究溯源。先列述中国



regard. Mencius, who spoke of the virtues of Yao and Shun and the Three Dynasties, could not get on with these rulers. So he retired with Wan Zhang and some other disciples to expound the *Book of Songs* and *Book of Documents* and transmit the teachings of Confucius. His own writings filled seven books.

After him were the philosophers Zouzi's. The state of Qi had three scholars surnamed Zou. The first, Zou Ji, so impressed King Wei by his performance on the lyre that he was set in charge of affairs of state, enfeoffed as Marquis Cheng and given the seal of prime minister. He lived before Mencius.

The second, Zou Yan, came after Mencius. Zou Yan saw that the rulers were becoming increasingly dissolute and extravagant, unable to first rectify themselves and then spread their virtue among the common people, as was taught in the ancient odes. Thereupon he delved deep into the interplay of the *yin* and *yang* and wrote more than a hundred thousand words about their strange, transmutations, summarizing the ideas of the great sages. Using wild and magniloquent language, he went on from a study of some minor object to extend his deductions to infinity. Going back from modern times to the Yellow Emperor² and the common origin of all teachings, he covered the rise and fall of different ages, the good and bad omens, and the various institutions, tracing these to the remote past before Earth and Heaven were created, and to the mysterious and unknown origin of things. He

【原文】

列中国名山大川，通谷禽兽，水土所殖，物类所珍，因而推之，及海外人之所不能睹。称引天地剖判以来，五德转移，治各有宜，而符应若兹。以为儒者所谓中国者，于天下乃八十一分居其一分耳。中国名曰赤县神州。赤县神州内自有九州，禹之序九州是也，不得为州数。中国外如赤县神州者九，乃所谓九州也。于是有裊海环之，人民禽兽莫能相通者，如一区中者，乃为一州。如此者九，乃有大瀛海环其外，天地之际焉。其术皆此类也。然要其归，必止乎仁义节俭，君臣上下六亲之施始也滥耳。王公大人初见其术，惧然顾化，其后不能行之。

是以邹子重於齐。适梁，惠王郊迎，执宾主之礼。适赵，平原

【今译】

的名山大川，所有山谷里的禽兽，水土中所繁殖的，物类中所珍贵的，于是由此推广，直到海外人们所看不到的东西。称引天地剖分以来，五德循环转动，治理天下各有相应的方法，天命和人事符合照应得这样巧妙。他还认为儒者所谓的中国，在全天下只是八十一分中占一分罢了。中国名叫赤县神州。赤县神州内有九个州，就是夏禹所分列的九州，这不能算做州数。中国以外有九个像赤县神州的州，才是所谓的九州。在这里有小海环绕，人民乃至禽兽都不能彼此相通，好像处在一个区域中，才是一个州。像这样的州有九个，还有大瀛海环绕在外，这才是天地的边际呢。他的学术都属这一类。然而总结它的宗旨，一定要停留在仁义节俭，在君臣上下以至六亲中施行，只是所论空泛不实。王公大人最初见到他的学说，惊奇之下心中留意并受到感化，在这以后却不能实行它。

因此邹衍被齐国所重视。他到了魏国大梁，惠王在郊外迎接，实行了主人接待客人的礼节。到赵国去，平原君侧身而行，





began by tabulating the famous mountains, mighty rivers and valleys of china, its birds and beasts, products of water and land and precious objects, going on from these to things hidden from men's eyes beyond the Four Seas. He claimed that since the separation of Heaven and Earth all things must change according to the specific laws of the Five Elements and show definite manifestations. He maintained that what Confucians called the "Central States" were only one of eighty-one regions of the world. The Middle Kingdom, known as the Red Divine Land, comprised the nine "continents" of which Great Yu spoke, but these were not real continents. Outside the Middle Kingdom there were nine regions as large as the Red Divine Land, and these were the true Nine Continents. These were each surrounded by "small seas" separating the people and beasts on one from those on others and formed one region which made up one continent. There were nine such continents, surrounded by a "great ocean" at the boundary of Earth and Heaven.

Zou Yan's theories were all of this sort. Yet these were the premises for his conclusions about humanity, justice, frugality and the relationships between ruler and ruled, high and low, and kinsmen. Princes and nobles were impressed and influenced by their first acquaintance with his teachings, but they could never put them into practice.

Zou Yan was highly regarded in Qi. When he went to Liang, King Hui welcomed him outside the city and treated him as an honoured



【原文】

君侧行襪席。如燕，昭王拥彗先驱，请列弟子之座而受业，筑碣石宫，身亲往师之。作《主运》。其游诸侯见尊礼如此，岂与仲尼菜色陈蔡，孟轲困於齐梁同乎哉！故武王以仁义伐纣而王，伯夷饿不食周粟；卫灵公问陈，而孔子不答；梁惠王谋欲攻赵，孟轲称大王去邠。此岂有意阿世俗苟合而已哉！持方枘而内圆凿，其能入乎？或曰，伊尹负鼎而勉汤以王，百里奚饭牛车下而穆公用霸，作先合，然后引之大道。邹衍其言虽不轨，悦亦有牛鼎之意乎？

自邹衍与齐之稷下先生，如淳于髡、慎到、环渊、接子、田骈、邹奭之徒，各著书言治乱之事，以干世主，岂可胜道哉！

【今译】

并用衣服拂拭座席。到燕国，昭王持扫帚在前面走，并请求坐在弟子的座位上来接受学习，建筑碣石宫让他住，亲自到那里向他学习。邹衍写了《主运》一书。他游说诸侯被尊敬礼让得这样高，哪里像孔子在陈国、蔡国面有菜色，孟轲在齐国、梁国遇到困厄那样呢！所以武王靠仁义讨伐商纣而称王，伯夷饥饿也不吃周朝的粮食；卫灵公问起行军布阵，孔子也不回答；梁惠王计划想攻打赵国，孟轲称颂周太王离开邠邑的事。这难道是有意迎合世俗随便附和么！拿着方凿想放进圆孔里，能进去吗？有人说，伊尹背着鼎去勉励商汤成就王业，百里奚在车下喂牛而秦穆公靠他称了霸，行动首先配合，然后引导他们走上正道。邹衍的话虽然不合常轨，或许也有百里奚喂牛、伊尹负鼎的用意吧？

从邹衍到齐国稷下的诸先生，如淳于髡、慎到、环渊、接子、田骈、邹奭这些人，各自著书谈论天下治乱的大事，来晋见当世的国君，这哪里能够说得尽呢！



guest. In Zhao, Lord Pingyuan walked beside him and dusted the mat for him. In Yan, King Zhao swept the path before him, asked to be allowed to sit with his students to study under him, and built Jieshi Palace so that he himself might learn from him there. So Zou Yan wrote *The Sovereign's Way*. Every state he visited received him with honour. How different from the case of Confucius, who underwent hunger in Chen and Cai, or of Mencius who was hard put to it in Qi and Liang!

When, for the sake of humanity and justice, Wu attacked the king of Yin and became king himself, Bo Yi refused to eat the grain of Zou. When Duke Ling of Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.) asked about battle formations, Confucius refused to answer. When King Hui of Liang planned to attack Zhao, Mencius told him how King Wen had left the district of Bin. These men certainly never tried to follow the fashion or compromise with it. How can you fit a square peg into a round hole? Some point out, however, that Yi Yin served Tang as a cook before making him a king, and Baili Xi grazed his oxen in front of Duke Mu's chariot before serving him and making him a conqueror; for they had to meet the ruler first before leading him to the right path. Although Zou Yan's teachings were unorthodox, he may have had the same idea as these men.

After Zou Yan came the scholars of the Ji Xia Academy in Qi, men like Chunyu Kun, Shen Dao, Huan Yuan, Jie Zi, Tian Pian and Zou shi, who wrote about government to advise the princes of their time. They are too many to enumerate here.

【原文】

淳于髡，齐人也。博闻强记，学无所主。其谏说，慕晏婴之为人也，然而承意观色为务。客有见髡于梁惠王，惠王屏左右，独坐而再见之，终无言也。惠王怪之，以让客曰：“子之称淳于先生，管、晏不及，及见寡人，寡人未有得也。岂寡人不足为言邪？何故哉？”客以谓髡。髡曰：“固也。吾前见王，王志在驱逐；后复见王，王志在音声。吾是以默然。”客具以报王，王大骇，曰：“嗟乎，淳于先生诚圣人也！前淳于先生之来，人有献善马者，寡人未及视，会先生至。后先生之来，人有献讴者，未及试，亦会先生来。寡人虽屏人，然私心在彼，有之。”后淳于髡见，壹语连三日

【今译】

淳于髡，是齐国人。博闻强记，治学兼采众家。从他的进谏劝说来看，是仰慕晏婴的为人，然而致力于承受意旨和察颜观色。宾客中有人把淳于髡引见给梁惠王，梁惠王让左右侍从退下，独自坐着两次接见他，他最终也没有说话。惠王感到奇怪，责备那位宾客说：“你称赞淳于先生，说管仲、晏婴都不及他，可等他见了寡人，寡人没有得到什么。难道是寡人不够格和他谈话吗？为什么呢？”宾客把这些话对淳于髡说了。淳于髡说：“本来如此啊。我前一次进见魏王，魏王的心思在驱车打猎上；后来再见魏王，魏王的心思在音乐上。我因此才默不作声。”宾客把这话全部报告梁惠王，惠王十分惊讶，说：“唉呀！淳于先生确实是圣人啊！前一次淳于先生来时，有人献上了好马，寡人还没有来得及看，正巧先生到了。后一次先生来时，有人来献歌舞艺人，寡人还没来得及试试，也正好先生来了。寡人虽然让人退下，可是私心在别的方面。有这回事。”后来淳于髡进见，连着谈了三天





Chunyu Kun, a native of Qi, had wide knowledge and a retentive memory and belonged to no particular school of thought. In offering advice he took Yan Ying as his model, but paid careful attention to the ruler's reactions. Once someone introduced him to King Hui of Liang, who twice dismissed everyone else to receive him in private, but not a word did Chunyu Kun say.

The astonished king told the man who had introduced him, "You recommended Master Chunyu as superior even to Guan Zhong and Yan Ying, but I have learned nothing from him. Am I unworthy of his advice? Or what is the reason?"

When this was repeated to Chunyu Kun, he said, "True. The first time I saw the king his thoughts were on charioteering. The second time his thoughts were on music. So I kept quiet."

As soon as the king was informed of this, he exclaimed in astonishment, "Ah, Master Chunyu must certainly be a sage! When he first came, I had just been given a fine horse and had no time to examine it. The second time, I had just been given some musicians but had no time to hear them. Although I dismissed everyone else, it is true that my thoughts were elsewhere."

Chunyu Kun subsequently saw the king again and they talked for three days and three nights without wearying. King Hui wished to make



【原文】

三夜无倦。惠王欲以卿相位待之，髡因谢去。于是送以安车驾驷，束帛加璧，黄金百镒。终身不仕。

慎到，赵人。田骈、接子，齐人。环渊，楚人。皆学黄老道德之术，因发明序其指意。故慎到著十二论，环渊著上下篇，而田骈、接子皆有所论焉。

邹奭者，齐诸邹子，亦颇采邹衍之术以纪文。

于是齐王嘉之，自如淳于髡以下，皆命曰列大夫，为开第康庄之衢，高门大屋，尊宠之。览天下诸侯宾客，言齐能致天下贤士也。

荀卿，赵人。年五十始来游学于齐。邹衍之术迂大而闳辩；

【今译】

三夜都不困倦。惠王想用卿相的职位来接纳他，淳于髡却推辞离开了。于是送给他驾着四匹马的平稳坐车，成捆的丝帛加上玉璧，黄金一百镒。淳于髡终身没有做官。

慎到，是赵国人。田骈、接子，是齐国人。环渊，是楚国人。他们都学习黄帝、老子道德方面的学说，就阐发说明叙述它的意旨。因而慎到著有十二论，环渊著有上、下篇，田骈、接子都有所论述。

邹奭，是齐国诸多邹子之一，较多地吸收邹衍的一些学说来撰写文章。

于是齐王嘉许他们，从像淳于髡以下的一些人，都任命为诸大夫，给他们开设住宅和宽阔平坦的大道，高门大屋，尊重宠信他们。延揽天下诸侯宾客，说明齐国能够招致天下的贤能之士。

荀卿，是赵国人。五十岁时才开始来到齐国游学。邹衍的学



him a high minister, but he declined and withdrew. Then the king presented him with a fine carriage drawn by four horses, as well as rolls of silk, some jade and two thousand *yi* of gold. He accepted no official post all his life.

Shen Dao came from Zhao, Tian Pian and Jie Zi from Qi, and Huan Yuan from Chu. These men studied the doctrines of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Zi and propounded their own ideas according to these. Shen Dao was the author of twelve essays, Huan Yuan left two books of writing, and Tian Pian and Jie Zi both wrote essays too. Zou shi, another of the Zou scholars of Qi, recorded the teachings of Zou Yan in his writings. The king of Qi favoured these scholars. From Chunyu Kun down he gave them all the rank of ministers and honoured them by building large mansions, broad avenues and imposing gates for them. This was to show the protégés of other rulers that the king of Qi was a good patron.

Xun Qing was a native of Zhao who went to Qi when he was fifty to spread his teachings. Zou Yan's arguments were diffuse and

【原文】

奭也文具难施；淳于髡久与处，时有得善言。故齐人颂曰：“谈天衍，雕龙奭，炙毂过髡。”田骈之属皆已死。齐襄王时，而荀卿最为老师。齐尚修列大夫之缺，而荀卿三为祭酒焉。齐人或谗荀卿，荀卿乃适楚，而春申君以为兰陵令。春申君死而荀卿废，因家兰陵。李斯尝为弟子，已而相秦。荀卿嫉浊世之政，亡国乱君相属，不遂大道而营于巫祝，信机祥，鄙儒小拘，如庄周等又猾稽乱俗，于是推儒、墨、道德之行事兴坏，序列著数万言而卒。因葬兰陵。

而赵亦有公孙龙为坚白同异之辩，剧子之言；魏有李悝，尽

【今译】

说迂曲夸大而富于雄辩；邹奭文章完备而难以实施；淳于髡和他相处很久，经常能得到有用的观点。所以齐国人称颂说：“善于谈天的是邹衍，善于雕饰的是邹奭，智慧无穷的是淳于髡。”田骈这些人都已经死了。齐襄王时，荀卿是最年长资深的学者。齐国正在补充列大夫的缺位，而荀卿三次出任祭酒。齐国有人说荀卿的坏话，荀卿就到了楚国，春申君让他作兰陵的县令。春申君死后荀卿被废黜了，就在兰陵安了家。李斯曾经是他的弟子，后来作了秦国的丞相。荀卿憎恨混乱时代的政治，诸侯国相继灭亡，昏乱的君主也接连失去权力，他们不遵循正道却被巫祝所迷惑，相信鬼神降福去灾，鄙陋的儒生拘于小节，如庄周等人又荒诞不稽，败坏风俗，因此荀卿把儒家、墨家、道家的所作所为兴盛失败，叙述整理写成数万字的著作后去世。死后就葬在兰陵。

赵国也有公孙龙，进行了“离坚白”及“合同异”的辩论，还有剧子的言论；魏国有李悝，开展了完全发挥土地潜力的教



highflown, Zou shi had literary talent but his theories were difficult to put into practice, and if you spent long enough with Chunyu Kun you could occasionally catch words of wisdom. Hence the men of Qi commented, "Zou Yan talks about heaven, Zou shi is a fine stylist, and Chunyu Kun is a fluent speaker."

Tian Pian and the scholars associated with him were dead by the time of King Xiang of Qi, so that Xun Qing was the doyen of the philosophers. Qi was filling vacancies in the ranks of its ministers, and Xun Qing was three times appointed chief libationer. When some men of Qi slandered him he went to Chu, where Lord Chunshen made him magistrate of Lanling, a position he lost at the death of Lord Chunshen. Li Si, later prime minister of Qin, was one of Xun Qing's pupils.

Xun Qing hated the corrupt governments of his day, the decadent states and evil princes who did not follow the Way but gave their attention to magic and prayers and believed in omens and luck. The Confucian scholars of his generation were petty and narrow-minded, while thinkers such as Zhuang Zhou were wild and destructive of public morality. So Xun Qing expounded the advantages and disadvantages of practising the Confucian, Mohist and Taoist teachings. By the time of his death he had written tens of thousands of words. He was buried in Lanling.

Gongsun Long was another man of Zhao. He argued about similarities and differences and about solidity and whiteness. Zhao also produced the philosophy of Ju Zi. In Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) there

【原文】

地力之教；楚有尸子、长卢；阿之吁子焉。自如孟子至于吁子，世多有其书，故不论其传云。

盖墨翟，宋之大夫，善守御，为节用。或曰并孔子时，或曰在其后。

【今译】

育；楚国有尸子、长卢；阿邑有吁子。自孟子直到吁子世上有很多他们的书，所以就不论述它们的内容了。

墨翟，是宋国的大夫，精通防守和抵御的战术，主张节俭用度。有的说他同孔子同时，有的说在孔子之后。





was Li Kui, who taught the proper use of natural resources. In Chu there were Shi Zi, Chang Lu and Yu Zi of A. Since the writings of these men from Mencius to Yu Zi are well known, I shall not discuss them here.

Mo Di was a minister of Song who was skilled in military defence and advocated economy. Some say he was a contemporary of Confucius, and others that he lived later.

¹ Mencius.

² A legendary ruler to whom many Taoist teachings were ascribed.

孟尝君列传

【原文】

孟尝君名文，姓田氏。文之父曰靖郭君田婴。田婴者，齐威王少子而齐宣王庶弟也。田婴自威王时任职用事，与成侯邹忌及田忌将而救韩伐魏。成侯与田忌争宠，成侯卖田忌。田忌惧，袭齐之边邑，不胜，亡走。会威王卒，宣王立，知成侯卖田忌，乃复召田忌以为将。宣王二年，田忌与孙臧、田婴俱伐魏，败之马陵，虏魏太子申而杀魏将庞涓。宣王七年，田婴使于韩、魏，韩、魏服于齐。婴与韩昭侯、魏惠王会齐宣王东阿南，盟而去。明年，复与梁惠王会甄。是岁，梁惠王卒。宣王九年，田婴相

【今译】

孟尝君名叫文，姓田。田文的父亲是靖郭君田婴。田婴是齐威王的小儿子、齐宣王的庶弟。田婴从齐威王时起任职掌权，与成侯邹忌及田忌领兵救韩攻魏。成侯和田忌争宠，成侯出卖了田忌。田忌害怕了，袭击齐国的边境，没有取胜，便逃跑了。正逢齐威王去世，齐宣王即位，得知成侯出卖了田忌，就又召回田忌，让他当将领。齐宣王二年（公元前318年），田忌与孙臧、田婴一起攻打魏国，在马陵打败魏军，俘虏了魏国的太子魏申，杀死了魏将庞涓。宣王七年（公元前313年），田婴出使到韩国、魏国，韩国、魏国归服于齐国。田婴与韩昭侯、魏惠王在东阿的南面会见了齐宣王，结盟后离去。第二年，齐宣王又与梁惠王在甄邑会见。这年，梁惠王去世。齐宣王九年（公元前311年），田婴



Lord Mengchang

Lord Mengchang's name was Tian Wen. His father Tian Ying, Lord Jingguo, was the youngest son of King Wei of Qi and a half brother of King Xuan.

Tian Ying served in the government under King Wei and led troops with Zou Ji the marquis of Cheng and Tian Ji in the campaign against Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) to rescue Han (403B.C.-230B.C.). Then Zou Ji and Tian Ji contended for power, the former slandered the latter, and Tian Ji in alarm tried to storm a border town of Qi but fled after defeat. Upon King Wei's death King Xuan ascended the throne and, knowing that Tian Ji had been the victim of slander, he recalled him and made him a general.

In the second year of King Xuan,¹ Tian Ji, Sun Bin and Tian Ying led troops against Wei and won the battle of Maling, capturing the crown prince Shen and killing General Pang Juan.

In the seventh year of King Xuan, Tian Ying went as an envoy to Han and Wei to win them as allies for Qi. He escorted Marquis Zhao of Han and King Hui of Wei to a conference with King Xuan south of Donga, where an agreement was reached.

The following year, the king of Qi conferred again with King Hui of Wei at Zhen. Later that year King Hui died.

In the ninth year of King Xuan, Tian Ying became prime minister



【原文】

齐。齐宣王与魏襄王会徐州而相王也。楚威王闻之，怒田婴。明年，楚伐败齐师于徐州，而使人逐田婴。田婴使张丑说楚威王，威王乃止。田婴相齐十一年，宣王卒，湣王即位。即位三年，而封田婴于薛。

初，田婴有子四十余人。其贱妾有子名文，文以五月五日生。婴告其母曰：“勿举也。”其母窃举生之。及长，其母因兄弟而见其子文于田婴。田婴怒其母曰：“吾令若去此子，而敢生之，何也？”文顿首，因曰：“君所以不举五月子者，何故？”婴曰：“五月子者，长与户齐，将不利其父母。”文曰：“人生受命于天乎？将受命于户邪？”婴默然。文曰：“必受命于天，君何忧焉。必受

【今译】

担任齐国的丞相。齐宣王与魏襄王在徐州会见，互相承认对方称王。楚威王听到这事，对田婴的作法感到气愤。第二年，楚国在徐州打败齐军，就派人让齐国驱逐田婴。田婴派张丑去劝说楚威王，楚威王才作罢。田婴担任齐国丞相十一年，齐宣王去世，齐湣王即位。即位三年后，就把田婴封在薛邑。

起初，田婴有儿子四十多人，他的贱妾有个儿子名叫田文，田文是在五月五日出生的。田婴告诉田文的母亲说：“不要抚养他。”他的母亲偷偷地哺育养活了他。等到他长大了，他的母亲通过她的兄弟把她的儿子田文引见给田婴。田婴愤怒地对田文的母亲说：“我让你丢掉这个儿子，你却敢养活他，为什么呢？”田文磕头，接着说：“您不抚养五月出生的儿子，是什么缘故？”田婴说：“五月出生的孩子，长得和门一样高了，将要不利于他的父母。”田文说：“人生受命于天呢？还是将要受命于门呢？”田婴默不作声。田文说：“如果一定是受命于天，您忧虑什么呢？如果一



of Qi. King Xuan conferred with King Xiang of Wei at Xuzhou, where both took the title of king. The news of this made King Wei of Chu angry with Tian Ying.

The following year Chu defeated Qi at Xuzhou and dispatched men to drive away Tian Ying; but he sent Zhang Chou to intercede with the king of Chu, who relented. Tian Ying remained prime minister of Qi for eleven years. Then King Xuan died, King Min came to the throne, and three years later Tian Ying received Xue as his fief.

Tian Ying had more than forty sons. On the fifth day of the fifth month one of his low-born concubines gave birth to a son named Wen, and Tian Ying ordered her to abandon the child. She secretly kept him, however, and when he grew up induced his brothers to introduce him to his father.

Tian Ying was angry with the mother and said, "I told you to get rid of this child. How dare you bring him up?"

Wen bowed and asked, "What was your reason, sir, for abandoning a son born on that day?"

"When a child born on the fifth day of the fifth month grows as high as the door he will do his parents harm."

"Is man's fate controlled by Heaven or by the height of a door?" When his father could not answer, Wen continued, "If man's fate is controlled by Heaven, what's the good of worrying? If it is controlled



【原文】

命于户，则可高其户耳，谁能至者！”婴曰：“子休矣。”

久之，文承间问其父婴曰：“子之子为何？”曰：“为孙。”

“孙之孙为何？”曰：“为玄孙。”“玄孙之孙为何？”曰：“不能知也。”文曰：“君用事相齐，至今三王矣，齐不加广而君私家富累万金，门下不见一贤者。文闻将门必有将，相门必有相。今君后宫蹈绮縠而士不得短褐，仆妾余粱肉而士不厌糟糠。今君又尚厚积余藏，欲以遗所不知何人，而忘公家之事日损，文窃怪之。”于是婴乃礼文，使主家待宾客。宾客日进，名声闻于诸侯。诸侯皆使人请薛公田婴以文为太子，婴许之。婴卒，谥为靖郭君。而文果代立

【今译】

定是受命于门，那可以把门户加高，谁能长得到那么高呢！”田婴说：“你不要说了。”

过了很久，田文乘机问他父亲田婴道：“儿子的儿子叫什么？”田婴说：“叫孙子。”“孙子的孙子叫什么？”田婴说：“叫玄孙。”“玄孙的玄孙叫什么？”田婴说：“不知道。”田文说：“您掌权担任齐国宰相，到今天已经历三代国王了，齐国没有扩大，可是您的私家财富已积累了上万金，门下看不见一个贤人。我听说将门必有将，相门必有相。现在您的贱妾踏着锦绣绸纱，可是士人却穿不上粗布衣服；奴婢们有剩余的鱼肉，可是士人却吃不饱糟糠。现在您还在多积蓄、多储藏，想把它留给还不知道是谁的什么人，忘掉了国家的事业一天天削弱，我私下觉得奇怪。”于是田婴才以父子之礼对待田文，让他主持家事，接待宾客。宾客一天天多起来，田文的名声也传到了各诸侯国。诸侯都派人请求薛公田婴立田文为太子，田婴答应了。田婴去世，谥号



by a door, why not make the door higher so that no one can equal its height?"

At that Tian Ying said, "Very well, you may go."

Some time later Wen asked his father, "What is the son of a son?"

"A grandson," was the reply.

"What is the grandson of a grandson?"

"A great-great-grandson."

"What is the grandson of a great-great-grandson?"

"I don't know."

"You have served as prime minister of Qi during three reigns," said Wen, "yet the territory of Qi has not increased. Your private estate is worth ten thousand pieces of gold, yet not one man of talent can be found among your followers. I have heard that a general's family should produce generals, a minister's family should produce ministers. Now your concubines are clothed in fine silk, while the gentlemen serving you wear ragged jackets; your slaves and concubines have grain and meat to spare, while your guests go hungry on husks. And you are amassing yet more wealth to leave to some unknown descendants, paying less and less attention to public affairs. To my mind, this is rather strange."

Tian Ying then treated him with more respect, putting him in charge of family affairs and of guests. Gradually more and more guests flocked to him so that his fame spread far and wide through the states. And when envoys from various states asked Tian Ying to make Wen his heir, he agreed to do so.

Tian Ying was given the posthumous title of Lord Jingguo. Tian

【原文】

于薛，是为孟尝君。

孟尝君在薛，招致诸侯宾客及亡人有罪者，皆归孟尝君。孟尝君舍业厚遇之，以故倾天下之士。食客数千人，无贵贱一与文等。孟尝君待客坐语，而屏风后常有侍史，主记君所与客语，问亲戚居处。客去，孟尝君已使使存问，献遗其亲戚。孟尝君曾待客夜食，有一人蔽火光。客怒，以饭不等，辍食辞去。孟尝君起，自持其饭比之。客惭，自刭。士以此多归孟尝君。孟尝君客无所择，皆善遇之。人人各自以为孟尝君亲己。

秦昭王闻其贤，乃先使泾阳君为质于齐，以求见孟尝君。孟尝君将入秦，宾客莫欲其行，谏，不听。苏代谓曰：“今旦代从外

【今译】

是靖郭君。田文果然在薛邑即位，这就是孟尝君。

孟尝君在薛邑，招徕诸侯宾客以及有罪逃亡的人，他们都归附孟尝君。孟尝君拿出家财厚待他们，因此天下的士人全都倾心归附。食客有数千人，无论贵贱一律和孟尝君相等。孟尝君接待宾客，坐着交谈，屏风后经常有侍从文书，负责记录孟尝君和宾客谈话的内容，问明亲戚的住处。宾客离去后，孟尝君已派使者去问候，奉送财物给他们的亲戚。孟尝君曾招待宾客夜餐，有个人遮住了烛光。宾客大怒，以为饭菜不一样，没有吃饭就要告辞而去。孟尝君站起来，端着自己的饭菜和他比较。宾客惭愧得自杀了。因此很多士人都来归附孟尝君。孟尝君对宾客不加选择，都友善地对待他们。人人都各自以为孟尝君亲近自己。

秦昭王听说孟尝君很贤能，就先派泾阳君到齐国作人质，来求见孟尝君。孟尝君将要去秦国，宾客都不想让他前往，规劝他，他不听从。苏代对他说：“今天早上我从外过来，看到木偶人





Wen succeeded to his fief as Lord Mengchang of Xue.

Lord Mengchang invited gentlemen to Xue from various states as well as refugees and felons flying from justice, using his fortune to entertain them handsomely. So gentlemen came to him from all over the land. He entertained several thousand protégés, treating all like himself with no distinction of rank. When he sat talking with the guests he had invited, there was always a scribe behind the screen to record their conversations and ascertain their relatives' whereabouts; and after the visitors' departure he sent messengers with gifts for their families.

One night when he gave a banquet, one of his guests who was sitting in the shadow lost his temper, fancying that he was receiving inferior fare. He stopped eating and begged to take his leave. At once Lord Mengchang rose and took his own meal over to compare with this fellow's. Then the man killed himself for shame. For reasons like these many gentlemen flocked to Lord Mengchang, who treated all well without discrimination so that each felt he was the lord's special friend.

When news of this admirable behaviour reached King Zhao of Qin, he sent Lord Jinyang as a hostage to Qi in order to invite Lord Mengchang to pay him a visit. The lord was eager to go, but all his protégés were against it. He turned a deaf ear, however, to their warnings.





【原文】

来，见木偶人与土偶人相与语。木偶人曰：‘天雨，子将败矣。’土偶人曰：‘我生于土，败则归土。今天雨，流子而行，未知所止息也。’今秦，虎狼之国也，而君欲往，如有不得还，君得无为土偶人所笑乎？”孟尝君乃止。

齐湣王二十五年，复卒使孟尝君入秦，昭王即以孟尝君为秦相。人或说秦昭王曰：“孟尝君贤，而又齐族也，今相秦，必先齐而后秦，秦其危矣。”于是秦昭王乃止。囚孟尝君，谋欲杀之。孟尝君使人抵昭王幸姬求解。幸姬曰：“妾愿得君狐白裘。”此时孟尝君有一狐白裘，直千金，天下无双，入秦献之昭王，更无他裘。孟尝君患之，遍问客，莫能对。最下坐有能为狗盗者，曰：“臣能

【今译】

跟土偶人互相交谈。木偶人说：‘天一下雨，您就要毁坏了。’土偶人说：‘我从泥土中生出，毁坏了就回到泥土里。现在天一下雨，漂着您前进，不知道停留在哪里。’现在秦国是虎狼一般的国家，您想要前往，如果不能回来，您能不被土偶人耻笑吗？”孟尝君这才不去。

齐湣王二十五年（公元前299年），终于又派孟尝君去秦国，秦昭王就让孟尝君作秦国的宰相。有人劝说秦昭王道：“孟尝君贤能，而且又是齐国的王族，现在让他当宰相，一定要先替齐国打算然后再替秦国打算，秦国将要危险了。”于是秦昭王才作罢。他囚禁了孟尝君，计议想杀了孟尝君。孟尝君派人冒昧求见秦昭王宠幸的爱姬，请求解免。宠姬说：“我希望得到孟尝君的白狐毛皮袍子。”这时孟尝君有一件白狐皮衣袍，价值千金，天下无双，到秦国后献给了秦昭王，再没有别的同样的皮袍了。孟尝君为此忧虑，问遍了门客，没有人能提出对策。最后的座位上有个



Then Su Dai said, "This morning on my way here, I heard a wooden figure talking to one of clay. 'It is raining,' said the wooden figure. 'You will crumble and collapse.' The clay figure retorted, 'I am made of earth and if I crumble I shall simply return to the earth. But the rain will carry you off and there is no knowing where you will end.' Now Qin is like a tiger or wolf, yet you are eager to go there. If you fail to return, the clay figure will laugh at you." Then Lord Mengchang relinquished his plan.

In the twenty-fifth year of King Min of Qi, Lord Mengchang was none the less sent to Qin, and King Zhao of Qin made him his prime minister.

Someone warned King Zhao, "Lord Mengchang is an able man and related to the royal house of Qi. He is bound to put Qi's interests first, to the detriment of our state." Thereupon King Zhao removed Lord Mengchang from office and put him under house arrest, meaning to kill him later. Lord Mengchang sent an appeal for help to the king's favourite concubine.

Her answer was, "I would like the lord's white fox fur."

Now Lord Mengchang, upon his arrival in Qin, had presented King Zhao with a fox fur worth a thousand pieces of gold, which was without its equal in the world, and of course he had no other. In dismay, he consulted his protégés, but none of them could think of any solution. Among his humblest followers, however, was a thief who could pretend to be a dog, and this fellow said, "I can get that white fox fur for

【原文】

得狐白裘。”乃夜为狗，以入秦宫藏中，取所献狐白裘至，以献秦王幸姬。幸姬为言昭王，昭王释孟尝君。孟尝君得出，即驰去，更封传，变名姓以出关。夜半至函谷关。秦昭王后悔出孟尝君，求之已去，即使人驰传逐之。孟尝君至关，关法鸡鸣而出客，孟尝君恐追至，客之居下坐者有能为鸡鸣，而鸡齐鸣，遂发传出。出如食顷，秦追果至关，已后孟尝君出，乃还。始孟尝君列此二人于宾客，宾客尽羞之，及孟尝君有秦难，卒此二人拔之。自是之后，客皆服。

孟尝君过赵，赵平原君客之。赵人闻孟尝君贤，出观之，皆笑

【今译】

善于伪装成狗盗窃的人，说：“我能得到白狐毛皮袍。”就在夜里装作狗，进了秦宫的仓库里，取出了所献的白狐毛皮袍回来，献给了秦王的宠姬。宠姬替他向秦昭王说情，秦昭王释放了孟尝君。孟尝君得以逃去，立即驱车离开，更换了过关的凭证，改名换姓才出了关卡。半夜里来到函谷关。秦昭王后悔放出孟尝君，去找他，已经离去了，立即派人乘传车飞驰追赶孟尝君。孟尝君到了函谷关，关防法令规定鸡鸣才放旅客出去，孟尝君恐怕追兵赶来，门客中有个地位较为低下的宾客能够模仿鸡叫，他一叫，许多鸡一起叫了起来，于是交验通关凭证，出了关。出关大约一顿饭的工夫，秦国追兵果然到了函谷关，已经晚于孟尝君出关之时了，就返回了。开始孟尝君把这二人列在宾客中，宾客们全都感到羞耻，等到孟尝君在秦国有难，终于靠这二人拯救了他。从此以后，宾客都佩服他们了。

孟尝君路过赵国，赵国的平原君以客礼接待他。赵国人听说孟尝君贤能，出来看他，都笑着说：“开始以为薛公很魁伟，现在



you." That night, passing himself off as a dog, he slipped into the palace storeroom and brought out the fur. When this was presented to the concubine, she interceded on Lord Mengchang's behalf and King Zhao released him.

As soon as he was free he galloped off with forged documents in another name and reached the Hangu Pass by midnight. By then the king had regretted releasing him and summoned him, only to find that he had already left. Men were sent in hot pursuit.

Now the pass was closed and there was a rule that no one might go through before cock-crow. Lord Mengchang feared that he would be overtaken, but another of his humblest followers was able to imitate the crow of a cock, and because this set all the other cocks crowing too the fugitives were able to go through. In the time it takes to eat a meal the pursuers reached the pass, but finding Lord Mengchang gone went back again.

When Lord Mengchang first accepted these two men as protégés, the others had despised them, yet it was these two who saved him from danger in Qin. And after this no more was said against them.

When Lord Mengchang was passing through Zhao, Lord Pingyuan entertained him. The people of Zhao, who had heard of his fame, came out to see him but only jeered at him. "We expected the lord of



【原文】

曰：“始以薛公为魁然也，今视之，乃眇小丈夫耳。”孟尝君闻之，怒。客与俱者下，斫击杀数百人，遂灭一县以去。

齐湣王不自得，以其遣孟尝君。孟尝君至，则以为齐相，任政。

孟尝君怨秦，将以齐为韩、魏攻楚，因与韩、魏攻秦，而借兵食于西周。苏代为西周谓曰：“君以齐为韩、魏攻楚九年，取宛、叶以北以强韩、魏，今复攻秦以益之。韩、魏南无楚忧，西无秦患，则齐危矣。韩、魏必轻齐畏秦，臣为君危之。君不如令敝邑深合于秦，而君无攻，又无借兵食。君临函谷而无攻，令敝邑以君之情谓秦昭王曰‘薛公必不破秦以强韩、魏。其攻秦也，

【今译】

看来，只是个渺小的男子罢了。”孟尝君听到这些话，发怒了。和他同行的宾客跳下车，砍杀了数百人，终于平灭了这一县的人才离开。

齐湣王认为自己无德，因为是他派孟尝君到秦国去的。孟尝君回来了，就用他作齐国的宰相，负责政务。

孟尝君怨恨秦国，将要用齐国的力量帮助韩国、魏国攻打楚国，随后与韩国、魏国攻打秦国，向西周借军粮。苏代替西周对孟尝君说：“您用齐国的力量帮助韩国、魏国攻打楚国已达九年，夺取了宛邑、叶邑以北来加强韩国、魏国，现在又攻打秦国去加强它们。韩国、魏国南边没有楚国的忧虑，西边没有秦国的灾患，那样齐国就危险了。韩国、魏国一定会轻视齐国，畏惧秦国，我替您感到危险。您不如让我国和秦国加深交往，您不要进攻，又不要借军粮。您的军队逼近函谷关而不进攻，让我国把您的情况对秦昭王说‘薛公不会攻破秦国以使韩国、魏国强大。他



Xue to be a powerful man," they said. "But now we see he is a puny fellow." When the lord heard this he was angry. His followers drew their swords and laid about them until they had killed several hundred men, nor did they stop till they had wiped out an entire county.

King Min of Qi regretted having sent Lord Mengchang away, and on his return made him prime minister in charge of the government.

Because he bore a grudge against the king of Qin, Lord Mengchang wanted to attack Qin instead of joining forces with Han and Wei against Chu and he asked Western Zhou for a loan of grain for the army.

Su Dai, on behalf of Western Zhou, said to him, "For nine years you have attacked Chu to help Han and Wei and strengthened them by taking land north of Wan and Ye. Now if you attack Qin that will make Han and Wei even stronger, and if they feel no threat from Qin in the west or Chu in the south, they will be a serious threat to you. They will fear Qin but despise Qi, and I think this is dangerous for you. It would be much better to let our state ally closely with Qin while you neither attack Qin nor borrow grain for the army. You can halt at the Hangu Pass while we convey your wishes to King Zhao of Qin, saying, 'The lord of Xue will not defeat Qin to make Han and Wei strong. He



【原文】

欲王之令楚王割东国以与齐，而秦出楚怀王以为和’。君令敝邑以此惠秦，秦得无破而以东国自免也，秦必欲之。楚王得出，必德齐。齐得东国益强，而薛世世无患矣。秦不大弱，而处三晋之西，三晋必重齐。”薛公曰：“善。”因令韩、魏贺秦，使三国无攻，而不借兵食于西周矣。是时，楚怀王入秦，秦留之，故欲必出之。秦不果出楚怀王。

孟尝君相齐，其舍人魏子为孟尝君收邑人，三反而不致一人。孟尝君问之，对曰：“有贤者，窃假与之，以故不致人。”孟尝君怒而退魏子。居数年，人或毁孟尝君于齐湣王曰：“孟尝君将为乱。”及田甲劫湣王，湣王意疑孟尝君，孟尝君乃奔。魏子所与粟

【今译】

攻打秦国，是想要大王让楚王割得东国给齐国，秦国也会放出楚怀王来讲和’。您让我国以此给秦国施以恩惠，秦国能够不受损失而用东国使自己免受灾难，秦国一定愿意。楚王也能放出，一定会感激齐国。齐国得到了东国，更加强大，薛邑也世代无忧了。秦国没有大的削弱，仍然处于三晋的西边，三晋一定会重视齐国。”薛公说：“好。”就让韩国、魏国朝贺秦国，使三个国家不用进攻，并且不向西周借军粮了。当时，楚怀王去到秦国，秦国扣留了他，所以苏代想使秦国释放他。秦国最终没有放出楚怀王。

孟尝君担任齐国宰相，他的舍人魏子替孟尝君收取封邑的租税，三次往返没有收到一点租税。孟尝君问他，他回答说：“有个贤能的人，我私下借用您的名义给了他，因此没有收回租税。”孟尝君发怒，斥退了魏子。过了几年，有人在齐湣王面前毁谤孟尝君说：“孟尝君将要作乱。”等到田甲劫持了齐湣王，齐湣王心中怀疑孟尝君，孟尝君就出逃了。魏子给粟米的那个贤者听说此



has advanced in the hope that you will ask the king of Chu to give his eastern territory to Qi, while you send back King Huai of Chu to make peace.' If you let us do this favour to Qin, they will certainly consent, for they can avoid defeat by giving you Chu's eastern territory. And the king of Chu will also be grateful to Qi for his release. Qi will be strengthened by the acquisition of the eastern territory, and your fief of Xue will be secure for ever. Since Qin will thus still be powerful on the western frontiers of Han and Wei, those states will have to treat Qi with respect."

The lord approved of this plan. He made Han and Wei send gifts to Qin, called a halt to the joint expedition and refrained from borrowing grain from Western Zou.

At this time King Huai of Chu was detained in Qin and his state was anxious for his return, but in the event Qin did not let him go.

While Lord Mengchang was prime minister of Qi, his steward Wei Zi, who collected revenue for him from his fief, went three times without once handing it over. When questioned, he replied that he had given the grain to a worthy man, and the lord angrily dismissed him.

A few years later, slanderers told King Min that Lord Mengchang was about to revolt. And subsequently the king suspected that Lord Mengchang was behind Tian Jia's attack upon him. So the lord ran away. When this news came to the ears of the worthy man to whom

【原文】

贤者闻之，乃上书言孟尝君不作乱，请以身为盟，遂自到宫门以明孟尝君。湣王乃惊，而踪迹验问，孟尝君果无反谋，乃复召孟尝君。孟尝君因谢病，归老于薛。湣王许之。

其后，秦亡将吕礼相齐，欲困苏代。代乃谓孟尝君曰：“周最于齐，至厚也，而齐王逐之，而听亲弗相吕礼者，欲取秦也。齐、秦合，则亲弗与吕礼重矣。有用，齐、秦必轻君。君不如急北兵，趋赵以和秦、魏，收周最以厚行，且反齐王之信，又禁天下之变。齐无秦，则天下集齐，亲弗必走，则齐王孰与为其国也！”于是孟尝君从其计，而吕礼嫉害于孟尝君。

【今译】

事，就上书说孟尝君不会作乱，请求以生命发誓，于是在宫门前自杀来证明孟尝君是清白的。齐湣王这才感到惊讶，跟踪调查询问，孟尝君果然没有反叛阴谋，就又召回孟尝君。孟尝君就藉病辞职，请求回到薛邑去养老。齐湣王答应了。

这以后，秦国的逃亡大将吕礼担任齐国的宰相，想让苏代处于困境。苏代就对孟尝君说：“周最对待齐国，非常宽厚，可是齐王驱逐了他，并且听信亲弗使吕礼为相的原因，是想取悦秦国。齐国、秦国联合，那么亲弗和吕礼就会被重用了。有了他们可用，齐国、秦国一定会轻视您。您不如赶快向北发兵，进军赵国，而跟秦国、魏国讲和，召回周最以显示宽厚的德行，并且挽回齐王的信誉，又防止了天下的变化。齐国不靠秦国，那么天下会归向齐国，亲弗一定会逃跑，那样齐王靠谁治理他的国家呢！”于是孟尝君听从了苏代的计策，因而吕礼嫉恨并想杀害孟尝君。





Wei Zi had given grain, he wrote to the king declaring that Lord Mengchang would never rebel — he would stake his life on this. And he killed himself at the palace gate to prove the lord's innocence. The king was shocked into investigating the matter, found Lord Mengchang innocent, and recalled him. Lord Mengchang, on the pretext of illness, asked permission to go to his own fief and this was granted.

Later Lü Li, a general who had deserted from Qin, became prime minister of Qi. He wanted to injure Su Dai, who told Lord Mengchang:

“Zhou Zui has rendered great services to Qi, yet the king dismissed him and on Qin Fu's advice has made Lü Li prime minister. This is because he wants to win over Qin. If Qi and Qin become allies, Qin Fu and Lü Li will hold power while you will count for nothing with Qi or Qin. Lose no time, then, in leading an army north towards Zhao, making peace with Qin and Wei, and inviting Zhou Zui back to show your appreciation; for in this way you will regain the king's confidence and put a stop to all possible changes. Once Qi is independent of Qin, the other states will flock to us and Qin Fu will be forced to leave. Then the king will have to find someone else to manage affairs of state.”

Lord Mengchang took his advice, but was hated by Lü Li for this.



【原文】

孟尝君惧，乃遗秦相穰侯魏冉书曰：“吾闻秦欲以吕礼收齐，齐，天下之强国也，子必轻矣。齐秦相取以临三晋，吕礼必并相矣，是子通齐以重吕礼也。若齐免於天下之兵，其仇子必深矣。子不如劝秦王伐齐。齐破，吾请以所得封子。齐破，秦畏晋之强，秦必重子以取晋。晋国敝于齐而畏秦，晋必重子以取秦。是子破齐以为功，挟晋以为重；是子破齐定封，秦、晋交重子。若齐不破，吕礼复用，子必大穷。”于是穰侯言于秦昭王伐齐，而吕礼亡。

后齐湣王灭宋，益骄，欲去孟尝君。孟尝君恐，乃如魏。魏昭王以为相，西合于秦、赵，与燕共伐破齐。齐湣王亡在莒，遂死。

【今译】

孟尝君害怕了，就送给秦国宰相穰侯魏冉一封信说：“我听说秦国想要用吕礼来收服齐国，齐国，是天下的强国，您一定要受轻视了。齐国、秦国互相结盟来对付三晋，吕礼一定会兼任齐、秦二国的宰相，这是您结交齐国来加重吕礼的地位。如果齐国免除了各国军队的威慑，他一定会深深地仇恨您。您不如劝秦王攻打齐国。齐国被攻破后，我愿意请求秦王把得到的土地封给您。齐国被攻破后，秦国畏惧晋国的强大，秦国一定会重用您来攻取三晋。晋国被齐国打败，又畏惧秦国，晋国一定要藉重您来取悦秦国。这样您攻破齐国，建立了功勋，挟持晋国，受到重用；这样您攻破齐国固定了封地，秦国、晋国争相藉重您。如果齐国不被攻破，吕礼还受重用，您一定会非常困窘。”于是穰侯向秦昭王进言攻打齐国，吕礼逃跑了。

后来齐湣王灭了宋国，更加骄横，想要除掉孟尝君。孟尝君恐惧了，就到魏国去。魏昭王让他作宰相，向西和秦国、赵国联合，与燕国一起攻破齐国。齐湣王逃到莒邑，就死在那里。齐襄



Fearing reprisals, the lord wrote to Wei Ran, the marquis of Rang and prime minister of Qin, "I hear that your king wants with Lü Li's help to win over Qi. But since Qi is a powerful state, you are bound to become less influential. Moreover when Qi and Qin combine against Han and Wei, Lü Li will be prime minister in both our states. This is what will come of allying with Qi and exalting Lü Li. So long as Qi is not threatened by other states, it is bound to regard you as its worst enemy; so you had better persuade your king to attack it. If Qi is defeated, I can propose that the territory won from it should be given to you, and fear of the might of Han, Wei and Zhao will make the king of Qin rely on you to win them over. At the same time, since these states were threatened by Qi and fear Qin, they will rely on you to win Qin over. In this way you will gain credit by defeating Qi and gain power, thanks to Han, Wei and Zhao. Your fief will be enlarged and Qin and Han, Wei and Zhao will respect you more. On the other hand, if Qi is not defeated and Lü Li remains prime minister, you will find yourself in serious trouble."

Then the marquis of Rang advised King Zhao of Qin to attack Qi, and Lü Li sought safety in flight.

The conquest of Song later made King Min of Qi arrogant and he wanted to rid himself of Lord Mengchang, who took fright and went to Wei, where King Zhao appointed him prime minister. Having allied with Qin and Zhao in the west, Wei joined forces with Yan to attack Qi and King Min fled to Ju, where he died. When King Xiang ascended



【原文】

焉。齐襄王立，而孟尝君中立于诸侯，无所属。齐襄王新立，畏孟尝君，与连和，复亲薛公。文卒，谥为孟尝君。诸子争立，而齐魏共灭薛。孟尝绝嗣无后也。

初，冯驩闻孟尝君好客，蹑蹻而见之。孟尝君曰：“先生远辱，何以教文也？”冯驩曰：“闻君好士，以贫身归于君。”孟尝君置传舍十日，孟尝君问传舍长曰：“客何所为？”答曰：“冯先生甚贫，犹有一剑耳，又蒯缊。弹其剑而歌曰‘长铗归来乎，食无鱼’。”孟尝君迁之幸舍，食有鱼矣。五日，又问传舍长。答曰：“客复弹剑而歌曰‘长铗归来乎，出无舆’。”孟尝君迁之代舍，出入乘舆车矣。五日，孟尝君复问传舍长。舍长答曰：“先生

【今译】

王继位，孟尝君在诸侯中保持中立，没有归属谁。齐襄王新继位，畏惧孟尝君，与他连横和好，又亲近了薛公。田文死后，谥号是孟尝君。各个儿子争着继位，齐国、魏国就一起灭了薛邑。孟尝君断绝了继承者，没有了后代。

当初，冯驩听说孟尝君好客，穿着草鞋就来见他。孟尝君说：“先生远道屈尊，用什么教导我呢？”冯驩说：“听说您喜欢士人，我把贫贱之身归附给您。”孟尝君把他安顿在普通客房里，十天后，孟尝君问客房的头头说：“客人干什么？”回答说：“冯先生穷得很，可还有一把剑，用草绳缠着剑把，弹着他的剑唱歌道‘长剑回去吧，吃饭没有鱼’。”孟尝君把冯驩迁到中等客房，吃饭有鱼了。过了五天，孟尝君又问客房头头。回答说：“客人又弹着剑唱歌说‘长剑回去吧，出去没有车’。”孟尝君又把他迁到上等客房，出入都坐车了。五天后，孟尝君又问客房头头。头



the throne of Qi, Lord Mengchang became the ruler of an independent state. Since King Xiang was newly come to the throne he feared the lord's power and made a pact with him, whereby they became reconciled.

At the lord's death he received the posthumous title of Lord Mengchang. His sons contended for the succession, but Qi and Wei together attacked and destroyed the state of Xue, so that no one succeeded to the title.

Before this, when Feng Huan heard that Lord Mengchang was good to his guests, he came to see him wearing straw sandals.

"You have come from far away, sir," said Lord Mengchang. "What instruction have you for me?"

"I hear that you are good to gentlemen," said Feng Huan, "and being poor I have come to seek your protection."

Lord Mengchang installed him in a hostel and ten days later asked the steward in charge, "What is our guest doing?"

The answer was, "Master Feng is very poor. He owns nothing but a sword with a plaited reed round its hilt. He beats his sword and sings, 'Let's go back, long sword! Here I have no fish to eat.'"

Then Lord Mengchang moved Feng Huan to a better hostel where he could have fish for his meals. Five days later he questioned the steward again and was told, "That guest is still beating his sword and singing, 'Let's go back, my long sword. Here I have no carriage to go out in.'"

Then Lord Mengchang moved Feng Huan to a still better hostel, where he had the use of a carriage. Five days later he questioned the steward

【原文】

又尝弹剑而歌曰‘长铗归来乎，无以为家’。”孟尝君不悦。

居期年，冯驩无所言。孟尝君时相齐，封万户于薛。其食客三千人，邑人不足以奉客，使人出钱于薛。岁余不入，贷钱者多不能与其息，客奉将不给。孟尝君忧之，问左右：“何人可使收债于薛者？”传舍长曰：“代舍客冯公形容状貌甚辩，长者，无他伎能，宜可令收债。”孟尝君乃进冯驩而请之曰：“宾客不知文不肖，幸临文者三千余人，邑人不足以奉宾客，故出息钱于薛。薛岁不入，民颇不与其息。今客食恐不给，愿先生责之。”冯驩曰：“诺。”辞行，至薛，召取孟尝君钱者皆会，得息钱十万。乃多酿酒，买肥

【今译】

头回答说：“先生又常弹剑唱歌说‘长剑回去吧，没有东西养家’。”孟尝君感到不快。

过了整一年，冯驩没有说什么。孟尝君这时任齐国的宰相，在薛邑受封了一万户。他的食客有三千人，封邑的收入不足以奉养食客，所以在薛邑放债。一年的收成不好，贷钱的人多数不能还清他们所欠的利息，宾客的供奉将要不够用了。孟尝君担忧此事，问左右的人：“可以派什么人到薛邑去收债？”客房头头说：“上等客房的宾客冯公的形状相貌好像能言善辩，年纪又大，没有别的技能，可以让他去收债。”孟尝君就接见冯驩并恳求他说：“宾客们不知道我无德无能。光临到我这里来的有三千多人，薛邑的收入不足以奉养宾客，所以在薛邑收利息钱。薛邑的年成不好，没有收入，百姓很多没有偿还利息。现在宾客的食用恐怕不够了，希望先生前往收债。”冯驩说：“好。”告辞前往，到了薛邑，召集贷了孟尝君钱的人都来聚会，收得利息钱十万。于是他



again and was told, "The gentleman is still beating his sword and singing, 'Let's go back, my long sword. Here I have no house of my own.'"

Lord Mengchang was annoyed. And Feng Huan stayed there for over a year without saying anything to him. At that time Lord Mengchang was prime minister of Qi with a fief of ten thousand households at Xue, but since he was supporting three thousand protégés his income was not enough to meet his expenditure, so he used to lend money in Xue. Then there came a famine and he could not get his money back, for most of his debtors were unable to pay the interest. Worried because he could not meet his expenses, Lord Mengchang asked his men to recommend someone to go to Xue to collect debts for him.

His steward said, "Master Feng who stays in the best hostel seems a man of great eloquence and a fine-looking gentleman, but he has no other gifts. You might send him."

Lord Mengchang invited Feng Huan over and told him, "More than three thousand gentlemen, overestimating my talents, have honoured me with their presence. Since my income is insufficient to meet this outlay, I have put out money at interest in Xue. But the crops there have failed and the people have not paid the interest, so that I may be unable to defray my expenses. I would like to trouble you for your help."

Feng Huan accepted this mission and left. Upon his arrival in Xue, he summoned all Lord Mengchang's debtors who owed interest amounting to a hundred thousand coins. He prepared wine in abun-



【原文】

牛，召诸取钱者，能与息者皆来，不能与息者亦来，皆持取钱之券书合之。齐为会，日杀牛置酒。酒酣，乃持券如前合之，能与息者，与为期；贫不能与息者，取其券而烧之。曰：“孟尝君所以贷钱者，为民之无者以为本业也；所以求息者，为无以奉客也。今富给者以要期，贫穷者燔券书以捐之。诸君强饮食。有君如此，岂可负哉！”坐者皆起，再拜。

孟尝君闻冯驩烧券书，怒而使使召驩。驩至，孟尝君曰：“文食客三千人，故贷钱于薛。文奉邑少，而民尚多不以时与其息，客食恐不足，故请先生收责之。闻先生得钱，即以多具牛酒而烧券书，何？”冯驩曰：“然。不多具牛酒即不能毕会，无以知其有

【今译】

酿了许多酒，买了肥牛，叫各个借了钱的人，能还利息的都来，不能偿还利息的也来，都拿着借钱的证券文书来验证它们。大家一齐参加集会，每天杀牛摆酒。酒正喝得畅快时，冯驩就让他们拿着证券到前面来验证，能还利息的，与他们约定期限；穷得不能偿还利息的，就拿过他们的证券烧了。他说：“孟尝君贷钱的原因，是为了让没有产业的百姓可以从事农业生产；收取利息的原因，是没有东西奉养宾客。现在富裕有余的人给约定期限，贫穷的人烧了证券文书来废弃债务。你们好好吃饭吧。有这样的主人，怎么能够辜负呢！”坐着的人都站起来，拜了又拜。

孟尝君听说冯驩烧了证券文书，恼怒地派使者召回冯驩。冯驩来到了，孟尝君说：“我有食客三千人，所以在薛邑放贷。我的俸禄封邑少，可是百姓还多不按时还利息，宾客的食用恐怕不够，所以请求先生收取债钱。听说先生收到钱，就用来多备牛肉酒食，烧了证券文书，为什么？”冯驩说：“是这样。如不多备牛



dance and fat oxen and invited them all to come whether they could discharge their debts or not, bringing with them records of their loans. On the appointed day, he had the oxen slaughtered and brought out the wine, and while they drank he checked their documents. He agreed to a date with those who were able to pay and burned the receipts of others who were too poor.

"Lord Mengchang lent you money to supply you with capital to make a start," he told them. "He asked for interest because he needs money to entertain his protégés. So now we are setting a time limit for those who are well off and burning the receipts of those too poor to discharge their debt. Eat and drink your fill, gentlemen, and do your best for a lord who treats you so well."

Then all the men rose from their seats and bowed their thanks.

When Lord Mengchang heard that Feng Huan had burned the receipts, he angrily recalled him.

"Because I have three thousand guests living on me, I lent money in Xue," he said. "Since my fief is small and my people do not always pay the interest, I was afraid I might not have enough for my guests and asked you to collect the money. But I hear that you used the funds to buy oxen and wine in abundance, after which you burned the documents. Why was this?"

"That is right," said Feng Huan. "If I hadn't prepared plenty of oxen and wine, not all of them would have come and I shouldn't have



【原文】

余不足。有余者，为要期。不足者，虽守而责之十年，息愈多，急，即以逃亡自捐之。若急，终无以偿，上则为君好利不爱士民，下则有离上抵负之名，非所以厉士民彰君声也。焚无用虚债之券，捐不可得之虚计，令薛民亲君而彰君之善声也，君有何疑焉！”孟尝君乃拊手而谢之。

齐王惑于秦、楚之毁，以为孟尝君名高其主而擅齐国之权，遂废孟尝君。诸客见孟尝君废，皆去。冯驩曰：“借臣车一乘，可以入秦者，必令君重于国而奉邑益广，可乎？”孟尝君乃约车币而遣之。冯驩乃西说秦王曰：“天下之游士凭轼结鞶西入秦者，无不欲

【今译】

肉酒食就不能全部聚会起来，也没法知道他们是有余还是不足。有余的，约定了期限还债。不足的，即使坐守催讨十年，还是收不上来，利息越来越多，一急之下，就用逃跑来废除这些债务。如果逼急了，始终没有东西偿还，上面会认为您好利，不爱惜士人百姓，下面会有背离君上和抵抗人君之名，这不是勉励士人百姓、显扬您的名声的办法。烧掉没用的空头债券，放弃得不到的空头账目，让薛邑的百姓亲近您，显扬您的好名声，您还有什么怀疑的呢！”孟尝君就双手相合向他道歉。

齐湣王被秦国、楚国的毁谤迷惑了，以为孟尝君名声超过了他的君王并且专揽齐国政权，就废黜了孟尝君。各位门客看到孟尝君被罢黜了，都离开了他。冯驩说：“借给我一辆可以进入秦国的车，一定让您受国家重用，俸禄封邑更加增多，可以吗？”孟尝君就安顿了车辆钱物，派他走了。冯驩就到西边劝秦王说：“天下的游说之士驾着车套着马西行来秦的原因，没有不想加强秦国而



known which had money and which had not. I set a time limit for those in a position to pay. As for those who have no money, even if I were to wait around for ten years the interest would simply accumulate until in desperation they ran away. In that event, apart from receiving no payment, you would win the reputation of a miser with no regard for the people, while they would be guilty of absconding. This is no way to improve the people's morale and increase your reputation. Burning those useless deeds and not attempting to dun the destitute will endear you to the people of Xue and spread your fame. Why do you doubt this, sir?"

Then Lord Mengchang clapped his hands and apologized.

When slanderers from Qin and Chu convinced the king of Qi that Lord Mengchang's fame outdid his own and that he had usurped state power, the king dismissed him from office. And as soon as he ceased to be prime minister most of his protégés left.

"Lend me a chariot to go to Qin," said Feng Huan, "and I shall make the king of Qi think so highly of you that he will increase your fief. How would you like that?"

Lord Mengchang prepared a chariot and gifts and saw him off. Feng Huan travelled west to Qin and told the king, "All those travelling politicians who ride west in their chariots to Qin are eager to strengthen



【原文】

强秦而弱齐；凭轼结鞶东入齐者，无不欲强齐而弱秦。此雄雌之国也，势不两立为雄，雄者得天下矣。”秦王跽而问之曰：“何以使秦无为雌而可？”冯驩曰：“王亦知齐之废孟尝君乎？”秦王曰：“闻之。”冯驩曰：“使齐重于天下者，孟尝君也。今齐王以毁废之，其心怨，必背齐；背齐入秦，则齐国之情，人事之诚，尽委之秦，齐地可得也，岂直为雄也！君急使使载币阴迎孟尝君，不可失时也。如有齐觉悟，复用孟尝君，则雌雄之所在未可知也。”秦王大悦，乃遣车十乘黄金百镒以迎孟尝君。冯驩辞以先行，至齐，说齐王曰：“天下之游士凭轼结鞶东入齐者，无不欲强齐而弱秦者；凭轼结鞶西入秦者，无不欲强秦而弱齐者。夫秦

【今译】

削弱齐国的；驾着车套着马东行去齐的，没有不想加强齐国而削弱秦国的。这两个是雄与雌的国家，形势发展不能两者并立称雄，称雄的就得天下了。”秦王长跪着问他说：“用什么方法可以使秦国不作雌呢？”冯驩说：“大王也知道齐国废黜了孟尝君吗？”秦王说：“听说了。”冯驩说：“使齐国被天下看重的，是孟尝君。现在齐王因为听信毁谤言论而废黜了他，他的心里怨恨，一定会背弃齐国，背弃齐国到秦国，那样齐国的情况，人事的真实情形，会全部送给秦国，齐国的土地都可以得到，岂止是称雄呢！您赶快派使者装着财物暗中迎接孟尝君，不可失去时机。如果齐国觉悟了，又任用孟尝君，那样雌雄在哪一边就不知道了。”秦王很高兴，就派十辆车载着黄金一百镒来迎接孟尝君。冯驩告辞先行，到了齐国，劝齐王说：“天下的游说之士驾着车套着马东行来齐的，没有不想加强齐国而削弱秦国的；驾着车套着马西行入秦国的，没有不想加强秦国而削弱齐国的。秦国和齐国是雄雌之



Qin and weaken Qi, while those who go east to Qi are eager to strengthen Qi and weaken Qin. These two states are rivals, they cannot both reign supreme. The one which proves superior will conquer the world."

The king of Qin sat up and asked, "How can I make Qin more powerful?"

"Have you heard, sir, that the king of Qi has dismissed Lord Mengchang?"

"Yes, I heard that."

"It was Lord Mengchang who gave Qi status in the eyes of the world. Now that the king has dismissed him because of slander, he must bear a grudge against Qi. If he comes here, he can give you a full and true account of that state and its people, enabling you to conquer Qi. Will that not make you more powerful? Make haste, sir; send a messenger with gifts and invite him over secretly. Don't let this opportunity slip! If the king of Qi awakes to his mistake and makes Lord Mengchang prime minister again, it is hard to say which state will prove supreme."

The king of Qin, well pleased with this advice, sent ten chariots bearing a hundred *yi* of gold with an invitation to Lord Mengchang. Feng Huan asked leave to go first and when he reached Qi he advised the king of Qi, saying:

"All those travelling politicians who ride east to Qi in their chariots are eager to strengthen Qi and weaken Qin, while those who go west to Qin are eager to strengthen Qin and weaken Qi. Since these two

【原文】

齐雄雌之国，秦强则齐弱矣，此势不两雄。今臣窃闻秦遣使车十乘载黄金百镒以迎孟尝君。孟尝君不西则已，西入相秦则天下归之，秦为雄而齐为雌，雌则临菑、即墨危矣。王何不先秦使之未到，复孟尝君，而益与之邑以谢之？孟尝君必喜而受之。秦虽强国，岂可以请人相而迎之哉！折秦之谋，而绝其霸强之略。”齐王曰：“善。”乃使人至境候秦使。秦使车适入齐境，使还驰告之，王召孟尝君而复其相位，而与其故邑之地，又益以千户。秦之使者闻孟尝君复相齐，还车而去矣。

自齐王毁废孟尝君，诸客皆去。后召而复之，冯驩迎之。未

【今译】

国，秦国强大，齐国就弱小，这种形势不能两者都称雄。现在我私下听说秦国派使者用十辆车载着一百镒黄金来迎接孟尝君。孟尝君不西行还罢了，如果西行到秦国作宰相，那样天下就会归附秦国，秦国称雄，齐国为雌，那么临菑、即墨就危险了。大王何不在秦国使者未到之前，恢复孟尝君的职位，并且多给他封邑来向他道歉呢？孟尝君一定会高兴地接受。秦国即使是个强国，又怎么可以请去人家的宰相呢！挫败了秦国的计谋，也就断绝了秦国称霸逞强的策略。”齐王说：“好。”就派人到国境等候秦国使者。秦国使者的车辆正好进入齐国境内，齐王的使者驾着车返回来告诉他，齐王召回孟尝君并恢复了他的相位，还给他旧邑的封地，又增封了一千户。秦国的使者听说孟尝君又担任了齐国宰相，回转车子离去了。

自从齐王因为毁谤之言而废黜了孟尝君，各位门客都离开了。后来孟尝君被召回并恢复了职位，冯驩迎接他。还没有到地



states are rivals, if Qin is strengthened Qi must be weakened. They cannot both reign supreme. Now I hear that the king of Qin has sent ten chariots bearing a hundred *yi* of gold to Lord Mengchang with an invitation. If the lord remains here, well and good; if he travels west to serve as prime minister of Qin, the world will follow Qin. It will be the superior state and yours the inferior, and your chief cities Linzi and Jimo will be endangered. Why not restore the lord to his position and increase his fief to show your gratitude before the arrival of the envoy of Qin? He is bound to be pleased and accept, and however powerful Qin may be it can hardly invite another state's prime minister. In this way you can upset Qin's designs and thwart its scheme of conquest."

The king of Qi approved and sent a messenger to the frontier to look out for the envoy from Qin. As soon as the envoy's chariots had crossed the frontier the messenger galloped back to report to the king, who forthwith summoned Lord Mengchang and reinstated him as prime minister, restoring to him his former fief with an additional thousand households. When word of this reached the envoy from Qin, he turned his chariots round and drove home again.

When the king of Qi dismissed Lord Mengchang on account of slander, all the lord's protégés left him. Now that he was summoned to be reinstated, Feng Huan alone went to meet him.

【原文】

到，孟尝君太息叹曰：“文常好客，遇客无所敢失，食客三千有余人，先生所知也。客见文一日废，皆背文而去，莫顾文者。今赖先生得复其位，客亦有何面目复见文乎？如复见文者，必唾其面而大辱之。”冯驩结辔下拜。孟尝君下车接之，曰：“先生为客谢乎？”冯驩曰：“非为客谢也，为君之言失。夫物有必至，事有固然，君知之乎？”孟尝君曰：“愚不知所谓也。”曰：“生者必有死，物之必至也；富贵多士，贫贱寡友，事之固然也。君独不见夫趋市朝者乎？明旦，侧肩争门而入；日暮之后，过市朝者掉臂而不顾。非好朝而恶暮，所期物忘其中。今君失位，宾客皆去，不足以怨士而徒绝宾客之路。愿君遇客如故。”孟尝君再拜曰：

【今译】

方，孟尝君长叹道：“我常常好客，对待宾客不敢有一点过失，食客有三千多人，这也是先生知道的。宾客们看到我一旦被罢黜了，都背弃我离开了，没有回头看我一眼的。现在靠先生能够恢复职位，宾客们还有脸面再见我吗？如果有再见我的，一定要唾他的脸，狠狠地羞辱他一顿。”冯驩收住马缰，停车下拜。孟尝君下车扶起他，说：“先生替宾客道歉吗？”冯驩说：“不是替宾客道歉，是因为您的话有错误。万物发展都有必然的最高限度，事情都有本来的面貌，您知道吗？”孟尝君说：“我不知道您说的是什么意思。”冯驩说：“生者一定有死，这是事物的必然归向；富贵了就有很多士人，贫贱了少有朋友，事情本来就是这样。您单单没看见赶集市的人吗？早晨天明了，侧着肩挤着门进去；日暮以后，路过集市的人甩着胳膊头也不回。不是喜好早晨而讨厌晚上，是因为他们所期望的东西不在那里了。现在您失去了职位，宾客都离开了，不值得因此就怨恨士人，而白白地断绝了宾客的来路。希望您像过去那样对待宾客。”孟尝君拜了又拜说：“我恭





While they were on the road Lord Mengchang sighed and said, "I used to enjoy collecting protégés and always treated them as well as I could. More than three thousand gentlemen lived upon me, as you know. But the day that they saw I was dismissed, they left without any regard for me at all. Thanks to your help I have been reinstated, but how can those men meet my eyes again? If they come to see me, I shall have to spit in their faces and insult them."

Feng Huan tied up his reins, got down from the chariot and bowed.

Lord Mengchang alighted to raise him up and asked, "Are you apologizing for those guests?"

"No, indeed," replied Feng Huan. "I disagree with you. Don't you know that all things must take their natural course and follow their own law?"

"I am too foolish to understand what you mean."

"All that lives must die: that is the nature of things. The rich and noble have many friends while the poor have few: that is the general law. Have you never noticed people going to the market? In the morning they crowd and shoulder their way through the gate, whereas after dusk they turn away without a look behind. This is not because they like the market in the morning and dislike it in the evening, but because the things they want are no longer there. The fact that all your guests left when you lost your position is no reason for you to complain. If you do, you will simply stop them from returning. I hope you will treat them exactly as before."

【原文】

“敬从命矣。闻先生之言，敢不奉教焉。”

太史公曰：吾尝过薛，其俗间里率多暴桀子弟，与邹、鲁殊。问其故，曰：“孟尝君招致天下任侠，奸人入薛中盖六万余家矣。”世之传孟尝君好客自喜，名不虚矣。

【今译】

敬地听从您的指教。听了先生的话，怎敢不奉行教导呢！”

太史公说：我曾经路过薛邑，那里的风俗是，乡邑间多有凶狠残暴的子弟，与邹国、鲁国不同。我问这样的原因，他们说：“孟尝君招徕天下的豪杰侠客，奸邪的人到薛邑中的大概有六万多家呢。”世间传说孟尝君以好客而自鸣得意，名不虚传。





Lord Mengchang bowed and said, "With all respect I shall act upon your advice, sir."

The Grand Historian comments: I once visited the district of Xue and found many of the local people there were hot-tempered young men very different from those of Zou and Lu. Upon asking the reason, I was told that Lord Mengchang had invited over sixty thousand families of gallant men and outlaws from far and wide to settle in Xue. Evidently there is truth in the report that Lord Mengchang loved entertaining protégés.

¹ 341 B.C.



平原君虞卿列传

【原文】

平原君赵胜者，赵之诸公子也。诸子中胜最贤。喜宾客，宾客盖至者数千人。平原君相赵惠文王及孝成王，三去相，三复位，封于东武城。

平原君家楼临民家。民家有躄者，盘散行汲。平原君美人居楼上，临见，大笑之。明日，躄者至平原君门，请曰：“臣闻君之喜士，士不远千里而至者，以君能贵士而贱妾也。臣不幸，有罢癯之病，而君之后宫临而笑臣，臣愿得笑臣者头。”平原君笑应曰：“诺。”躄者去，平原君笑曰：“观此竖子，乃欲以一笑之故，杀吾美人，不亦甚乎！”终不杀。居岁余，宾客门下舍人稍稍

【今译】

平原君赵胜，是赵国诸多公子中的一个。在诸多公子中赵胜最贤能，喜好宾客，宾客大概到了几千人。平原君担任赵惠文王及赵孝成王的宰相，三次离开相位，三次恢复原职，被封在东武城。

平原君家的高楼向下能看到老百姓家。一户老百姓家有个跛子，一摇一晃地常走到井边打水。平原君的美妾住在楼上，向下看到这情景，大声发笑。第二天，跛子到了平原君门前，请求道：“我听说您喜欢士人，士人不远千里来这里的原因，是因为您能尊重士人而轻视小妾。我不幸有病致残，可是您的小妾从楼上看到还讥笑我，我希望得到讥笑我的人的脑袋。”平原君笑着回答说：“好。”跛子离开后，平原君笑着说：“看看这小子，就想因为笑了一下而杀了我的美人，不也太过分啦！”终究没有杀小妾。



Lord Pingyuan and Yu Qing

Zhao Sheng, Lord Pingyuan, was a member of the royal house of Zhao, the ablest of all the young lords. He was a great patron whose protégés numbered thousands. Prime minister under King Huiwen and King Xiaocheng, he resigned three times and three times was reappointed. His fief was Dongwucheng.

Lord Pingyuan's storeyed mansion stood next to a commoner's house from which a lame man once limped out to draw water, only to be heartily laughed at by one of the lord's concubines. Next day the lame man came to the lord's gate and said, "I hear you are such a great patron that worthy men come to you from a thousand *li* away, because you value them more than your concubines. It is my misfortune to be lame, but one of your concubines has laughed at me. I want that lady's head."

Lord Pingyuan consented with a smile. Once the lame man had gone, however, he said with a laugh, "What a fool, wanting me to kill my beauty because of one laugh! Ridiculous!" And he did not kill her.



【原文】

引去者过半。平原君怪之，曰：“胜所以待诸君者，未尝敢失礼，而去者何多也？”门下一人前对曰：“以君之不杀笑躄者，以君为爱色而贱士，士即去耳。”于是平原君乃斩笑躄者美人头，自造门进躄者，因谢焉。其后门下乃复稍稍来。是时齐有孟尝，魏有信陵，楚有春申，故争相倾以待士。

秦之围邯郸，赵使平原君求救，合从于楚，约与食客门下有勇力文武备具者二十人偕。平原君曰：“使文能取胜，则善矣。文不能取胜，则歃血于华屋之下，必得定从而还。士不外索，取于食客门下足矣。”得十九人，余无可取者，无以满二十人。门下有毛遂

【今译】

过了一年多，他的宾客门下舍人陆陆续续离开的超过了一半。平原君觉得奇怪，说：“我对待你们不曾敢失礼，离开的人怎么这样多呢？”门下客有一人走上前回答说：“因为您没有杀笑跛子的人，人们认为您喜好美色，轻视士人，士人就离开了。”于是平原君就斩下笑跛子的那个美人的头，亲自登门献给跛子，趁机向他道歉。这以后他的门客又渐渐地回来了。这时候齐国有孟尝君，魏国有信陵君，楚国有春申君，因此争相尽其所能来招纳士人。

秦国包围了邯郸，赵国派平原君去求救，与楚国纵向联合，平原君准备邀集勇猛有力、文武兼备的食客门人二十人一起前去。平原君说：“假如文能取胜，那就好了。如果使用文的方式不能取胜，那只能在华丽的大厅下歃血为盟，一定要订好合纵条约才回来。文武之士也不必到外头找，从食客门下中找就够了。”找到十九人，其余的再找不到合适的，没有办法满二十人。门下



Within a year or so, more than half of his protégés and retainers had left one after the other.

"I have never treated you gentlemen impolitely. Why are you all leaving like this?" he asked in surprise.

One of them stepped forward to answer, "By not killing the lady who laughed at the lame man you showed that you love feminine beauty but despise worthy men. That is why so many are leaving."

Then the lord cut off the head of the offending concubine and himself presented it with apologies to the lame man. After that his protégés gradually returned.

At this time, Lord Mengchang in Qi, Lord Xinling in Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) and Lord Chunshen in Chu were trying to outdo each other in their treatment of worthy men.

When the army of Qin besieged Handan, Zhao ordered Lord Pingyuan to seek aid by entering into an alliance with Chu. He decided to take with him twenty strong, fearless protégés skilled in the arts of peace as well as of war. "If we can succeed by peaceful means, well and good," he said. "If not, let us take an oath on blood in the hall to bring back an agreement. I shall not seek men elsewhere, only in my own household."

He selected nineteen men, but could not decide on the twentieth. Then one of his retainers, Mao Sui, came forward and recommended

【原文】

者，前，自赞于平原君曰：“遂闻君将合从于楚，约与食客门下二十人偕，不外索。今少一人，愿君即以遂备员而行矣。”平原君曰：“先生处胜之门下几年于此矣？”毛遂曰：“三年于此矣。”平原君曰：“夫贤士之处世也，譬若锥之处囊中，其末立见。今先生处胜之门下三年于此矣，左右未有所称诵，胜未有所闻，是先生无所有也。先生不能，先生留。”毛遂曰：“臣乃今日请处囊中耳。使遂蚤得处囊中，乃颖脱而出，非特其末见而已。”平原君竟与毛遂偕。十九人相与目笑之而未废也。

毛遂比至楚，与十九人论议，十九人皆服。平原君与楚合从，言其利害，日出而言之，日中不决。十九人谓毛遂曰：“先生上。”

【今译】

有个叫毛遂的人，走上前，向平原君自我介绍道：“我听说您将要与楚国联合，商定与食客门人二十个人一起去，不到外面找。现在还少一个人，希望您就用我充数前去吧。”平原君说：“先生在我门下到现在有几年了？”毛遂说：“到现在已经三年了。”平原君说：“贤能的人处世，就像锥子处在囊中，它的尖头立刻就会露出来。现在先生在我门下已经有三年了，左右没有称诵过你什么，我也不曾听说过你，这是因为先生没有所长啊。先生不能去，先生留下吧。”毛遂说：“我是今天才请求处在囊中的。假如使我早处在囊中，就会把整个锥头都露出来，不单是锥尖露出来而已。”平原君终于让毛遂一起去了。其余十九人都相视一笑，但并没有抛弃他。

毛遂等到了楚国，与那十九个人议论，十九个人都佩服他。平原君与楚王商议订立合纵联盟的事，说明利害，从日出谈起，到了日中还没有决定。十九个人对毛遂说：“先生上吧。”毛遂就



himself, saying, "I hear you want to join Chu in an alliance against Qin, my lord, and that you mean to choose twenty men from your own household but are still one short. Will you take me to make up the number?"

"How many years have you been here?" asked Lord Pingyuan.

Mao Sui answered, "Three."

"An able man in this world, like an awl kept in a bag, quickly shows himself. If you have been here for three years, praised by none and unknown to me, you can hardly have any talent. No, no, you had better stay here."

"I am asking now to be put in the bag," said Mao Sui. "Had I been put there earlier, the awl would have thrust right through instead of simply showing its tip outside." So finally the lord agreed to take him. The other nineteen exchanged amused glances in silence.

By the time they reached Chu, Mao Sui had convinced the other nineteen of his ability in argument.

At sunrise Lord Pingyuan and the king of Chu began to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of an alliance, but no agreement had been reached by noon.

Then the nineteen others urged Mao Sui, "Go up, sir!"

【原文】

毛遂按剑历阶而上，谓平原君曰：“从之利害，两言而决耳。今日出而言从，日中不决，何也？”楚王谓平原君曰：“客何为者也？”平原君曰：“是胜之舍人也。”楚王叱曰：“胡不下！吾乃与而君言，汝何为者也！”毛遂按剑而前曰：“王之所以叱遂者，以楚国之众也。今十步之内，王不得恃楚国之众也，王之命悬于遂手。吾君在前，叱者何也？且遂闻汤以七十里之地王天下，文王以百里之壤而臣诸侯，岂其士卒众多哉，诚能据其势而奋其威。今楚地方五千里，持戟百万，此霸王之资也。以楚之强，天下弗能当。白起，小竖子耳，率数万之众，兴师以与楚战，一战而举鄢郢，再战而烧夷陵，三战而辱王之先人。此百世之怨，而赵之所羞，而王弗知恶

【今译】

握着宝剑一步一阶地走上去，对平原君说：“合纵的利害，两句话就决定了。现在从日出就谈论合纵，到了日中还没有决定，为什么？”楚王对平原君说：“这位客人是干什么的？”平原君说：“这是我的家臣。”楚王喝叱说：“为什么不退下！我是与你的主人说话，你来干什么！”毛遂攥着剑走上前说：“大王喝叱我的原因，是凭着楚国人多。现在十步以内，大王就不能凭着楚国人多了，大王的性命悬在我手上。我的主人就在跟前，喝叱什么？何况我听说商汤凭着七十里的土地称王天下，周文王凭着一百里的土地使诸侯臣服，哪里是他们士兵众多呢，实在是能根据形势发挥威力啊。现在楚国土地方圆五千里，拥兵百万，这是霸王的资本。凭楚国的强大，天下没有能抵挡的。白起，只是个小小子罢了，率领几万人，兴兵和楚国交战，一战就攻下楚都，再战又烧了夷陵，三战就侮辱了大王的祖先。这是楚国百代的怨仇，连赵国也感到羞耻，可是大王却不知道可恶。合纵的目地是为了楚国，不



Mao Sui, his hand on his sword, mounted the steps and said to Lord Pingyuan, "Whether this alliance is advantageous or not can be settled in two words. How is it that negotiations started at sunrise yet no agreement has been reached by noon?"

The king of Chu demanded, "Who is this man?"

Lord Pingyuan answered, "One of my retainers."

"What impudence!" shouted the king of Chu. "I am discussing matters with your master. What business have you here?"

His hand on his sword, Mao Sui advanced and said, "Your Majesty dares to shout at me because Chu has powerful forces; but within these ten paces they are no help to you. Your life is in my hands. How dare you shout at me in my master's presence? I have heard that King Tang ruled the world although he only started with seventy *li* of land, and King Wen with his kingdom of a hundred *li* ruled over all other states. These kings had no great armies, yet they could control events and exercise their might. Now with Chu's five thousand *li* of territory and million halberdiers, you have the resources to become a great conqueror. The whole world should be powerless to withstand you. Yet that young cur Bai Qi with a few tens of thousands of men in one battle took the cities Yan and Ying, in another burned the royal tombs at Yiling, and in a third brought shame upon your ancestors. We blush for you over this undying disgrace, yet you are not ashamed. We are



【原文】

焉。合从者为楚，非为赵也。吾君在前，叱者何也？”楚王曰：

“唯！唯！诚若先生之言，谨奉社稷而以从。”毛遂曰：“从定乎？”

楚王曰：“定矣。”毛遂谓楚王之左右曰：“取鸡狗马之血来。”

毛遂奉铜盘而跪进之楚王，曰：“王当歃血而定从，次者吾君，次者遂。”遂定从于殿上。毛遂左手持盘血，而右手招十九人曰：

“公相与歃此血于堂下。公等碌碌，所谓因人成事者也。”

平原君已定从而归，归至于赵，曰：“胜不敢复相士。胜相士多者千人，寡者百数，自以为不失天下之士，今乃于毛先生而失之也。毛先生一至楚，而使赵重于九鼎大吕。毛先生以三寸之舌，强于百万之师。胜不敢复相士。”遂以为上客。

【今译】

是为了赵国。我的主人就在跟前，又喝叱什么呢？”楚王说：“是！是！确实像先生说的那样，我郑重地尊奉社稷来订立合纵盟约。”

毛遂说：“合纵盟约定下来了吗？”楚王说：“定了。”毛遂对楚王的左右侍臣说：“取鸡狗马的血来。”毛遂捧着铜盘，跪着进献给楚王说：“大王应当歃血订下合纵盟约，其次是我的主人，其次是我。”就在殿上订立了合纵盟约。毛遂左手托着铜盘里的血，右手招呼十九人说：“你们就在堂下歃血吧。你们碌碌无为，就是所说的依靠别人的力量做成事的人罢了。”

平原君已经订立合纵盟约返回，回到赵国，说：“我不敢再观察士人啦。我观察士人多的上千人，少的上百人，自认为不会漏掉天下有才能的士人，现在却在毛先生这儿弄错了。毛先生一到楚国，就使赵国的威望比传国的九鼎大吕还受人尊重。毛先生凭着三寸之舌，强过百万大军。我不敢再观察士人啦。”于是把毛遂当作上宾。



proposing this alliance for your sake, not for our own. How dare you shout at me in my master's presence?"

"Yes, yes," said the king of Chu. "Just as you say. My state shall ally with yours."

"Is that settled, then?" asked Mao Sui.

The king said, "It is."

Then Mao Sui ordered the king's followers to fetch the blood of a cock, dog and horse. On his knees he presented the bronze dish of blood to the king of Chu, saying, "You must make a blood pact, sir. Then my master will pledge himself, then I." So the alliance was concluded in the court.

Then holding the dish of blood in his left hand, Mao Sui beckoned to the other nineteen with his right. "You shall swear with blood too," he said. "You yes-men can only reap what others have sown."

Having made the alliance and returned to Zhao, Lord Pingyuan said, "I shall never set myself up as a judge of men again. I have judged perhaps a thousand men, or several hundreds at least, and thought I could not miss any man of talent; but I was mistaken in my judgement of Mao Sui. His going to Chu has made our prestige higher than that of the nine tripods of Xia or the great bell of Zhou. His three inches of tongue have proved mightier than an army a million strong! I shall never set myself up as a judge of men again." Thereafter he treated Mao Sui as his most honoured guest.

【原文】

平原君既返赵，楚使春申君将兵赴救赵，魏信陵君亦矫夺晋鄙军往救赵，皆未至。秦急围邯郸。邯郸急，且降，平原君甚患之。邯郸传舍吏子李同说平原君曰：“君不忧赵亡邪？”平原君曰：“赵亡则胜为虏，何不为不忧乎！”李同曰：“邯郸之民，炊骨易子而食，可谓急矣，而君之后宫以百数，婢妾被绮縠，余粱肉，而民褐衣不完，糟糠不厌。民困兵尽，或剡木为矛矢，而君器物钟磬自若。使秦破赵，君安得有此？使赵得全，君何患无有？今君诚能令夫人以下编于士卒之间，分功而作，家之所有尽散以飨士，士方其危苦之时，易德耳。”于是平原君从之，得敢死之士三千人。李同遂与三

【今译】

平原君已经返回赵国，楚国派春申君领兵前来援救赵国，魏国信陵君也假托旨意，夺取了晋鄙的军队前去救援赵国，都还没有到。秦国加紧包围邯郸，邯郸危急，将要投降，平原君非常担忧此事。邯郸的旅馆长官的儿子李同劝平原君说：“您不担心赵国灭亡吗？”平原君说：“赵国灭亡了，我就成了俘虏，怎么不担心呢？”李同说：“邯郸的百姓，用死人骨头烧火，把子女交换着吃，可以说很危急了，可是您的姬妾数以百计，贱妾奴婢们都穿着锦绣绉纱，有多余的细粮鱼肉，而百姓们连粗布衣服都穿不完整，糟糠都吃不饱。百姓困窘，兵器用尽，有的削尖木头当作长矛弓箭，可是您却享用器物、钟磬照旧。假如秦国攻破赵国，您哪能还这样？假如赵国得到保全，您何愁没有这些东西呢？现在您确实可以让夫人以下的人都编到士卒中间，分工劳作，家里所有的东西全部散发来犒劳士兵，士兵们正当危急苦难之时，容易感恩戴德。”于是平原君听从了，得到敢死的士兵三千人。李同就



After Lord Pingyuan's return to Zhao the king of Chu sent Lord Chunshen with an army to Zhao's rescue, while Lord Xinling of Wei took over General Jin Bi's army by trickery to aid Zhao. Before the arrival of these forces, however, the troops of Qin were pressing Handan so hard that the city was on the verge of surrender, and Lord Pingyuan was desperately worried.

Li Tong, the son of a steward in a hostel, asked, "Don't you care if the state of Zhao is overthrown?"

"If Zhao falls I shall be captured," replied Lord Pingyuan. "Of course I care."

The citizens of Handan are in such straits they are using bones for fuel and exchanging their sons to eat," rejoined Li Tong. "Yet in your inner palace are hundreds of slave girls and concubines who wear silk and embroidery and have grain and meat and to spare, while the people lack sackcloth to cover their nakedness and would welcome husks to eat. Exhausted, with no weapons left, they are sharpening sticks to serve as spears and arrows; yet your bronze vessels, bells and chimes remain intact. All these will be lost if Qin conquers Zhao. But if Zhao is saved, you will have no lack of such things. You should make your ladies take part in the work of the troops and distribute all you have to supply our men. In their desperate state, it is easy to win their gratitude."

Lord Pingyuan took his advice and assembled three thousand men ready to risk their lives. With Li Tong they charged the soldiers of Qin



【原文】

千人赴秦军，秦军为之却三十里。亦会楚、魏救至，秦兵遂罢，邯郸复存。李同战死，封其父为李侯。

虞卿欲以信陵君之存邯郸为平原君请封。公孙龙闻之，夜驾见平原君曰：“龙闻虞卿欲以信陵君之存邯郸为君请封，有之乎？”平原君曰：“然。”龙曰：“此甚不可。且王举君而相赵者，非以君之智能为赵国无有也。割东武城而封君者，非以君为有功也，而以国人无勋，乃以君为亲戚故也。君受相印不辞无能，割地不言无功者，亦自以为亲戚故也。今信陵君存邯郸而请封，是亲戚受城而国人计功也，此甚不可。且虞卿操其两权，事

【今译】

和三千人前去与秦军作战，秦军为此后退了三十里。正好楚国、魏国的救兵也到了，秦军就撤兵了，邯郸又保存下来了。李同战死了，封他的父亲为李侯。

虞卿想凭着信陵君保存邯郸的功劳给平原君请封。公孙龙听说此事，连夜驾车会见平原君说：“我听说虞卿想凭信陵君保存邯郸的功劳给您请封，有这回事么？”平原君说：“是这样。”公孙龙说：“这非常不恰当。国君选拔您作赵国的宰相，不是因为您的智力才能是赵国所没有的。割东武城来封给您，不是因为您一个人有功劳，而认为国人都没有功劳，只不过因为您是王亲国戚的缘故。您接受相印没有推辞说没有能力，割地加封也不说自己没有功劳而拒绝，也是自以为是国王亲戚的缘故。现在以信陵君保存了邯郸而请求加封，这是凭亲戚之名来接受城邑，又以一个普通人的身份来计算功劳，这是很不恰当的。况且虞卿掌握着两方面的平衡，事情成功了，他会像债主一样拿着胜券来向您讨债，



and made them fall back thirty *li*. Just at that juncture Chu and Wei came to their assistance. Then the men of Qin raised the siege and Handan was saved. Li Tong fell in battle, but his father was enfeoffed as marquis of Li.

Because Lord Xinling had saved Handan, Yu Qing decided to ask for a larger fief for Lord Pingyuan. When Gongsun Long heard this he drove by night to see Lord Pingyuan and said. "I hear that Yu Qing means to ask for a larger fief for you because Lord Xinling saved Handan. Is this true?" Told that it was, he said, "That would be very wrong. It was not because you are the wisest man in Zhao that the king made you his chief minister, nor was it because you had achieved much and all others nothing that he gave you Dongwucheng as your fief. He did so because you are his kinsman. And you accepted the chief minister's seal and fief without declining on the grounds of unworthiness, also because you are his kinsman. Now if you accept a fief because Lord Xinling saved the capital, this would mean that you had accepted cities in the past as a member of the royal family and were now asking for a reward like a common citizen. That would be most improper. Yu Qing stands to gain either way. If he succeeds you will be indebted to



【原文】

成，操右券以责，事不成，以虚名德君。君必勿听也！”平原君遂不听虞卿。

平原君以赵孝成王十五年卒。子孙代，后竟与赵俱亡。

平原君厚待公孙龙。公孙龙善为坚白之辩，及邹衍过赵言至道，乃绌公孙龙。

虞卿者，游说之士也。蹊跷檐簦说赵孝成王。一见，赐黄金百镒，白璧一双；再见，为赵上卿。故号为虞卿。

秦、赵战于长平，赵不胜，亡一都尉。赵王召楼昌与虞卿曰：“军战不胜，尉复死，寡人使束甲而趋之，何如？”楼昌曰：“无益也，不如发重使为媾。”虞卿曰：“昌言媾者，以为不媾军必破

【今译】

事情要不成功，他也会以虚名让您感德。您一定不要听从。”平原君就没有听从虞卿的。

平原君在赵孝成王十五年(公元前251年)去世。子孙世代承袭平原君的封爵。以后终于与赵国一起灭亡了。

平原君优待公孙龙。公孙龙善于作“坚白石”的辩论，等到邹衍路过赵国谈论最高明的道理，就排斥公孙龙了。

虞卿，是个游说的士人。穿着草鞋、扛着雨伞，去游说赵孝成王。第一次见面，赐给他一百镒黄金，一对白璧；第二次见面，让他作了赵国的上卿。所以称作虞卿。

秦国、赵国在长平交战，赵国没有取胜，死了一个都尉。赵王召来楼昌和虞卿说：“军队打不赢，都尉又死了，寡人让军队装束铠甲，奔赴战场，怎么样？”楼昌说：“这没有好处，不如派重要使臣去讲和。”虞卿说：“楼昌说要讲和的原因，是认为不讲和



him; if he fails you will have to be grateful to him for trying. You must not listen to him, sir!"

So Lord Pingyuan declined Yu Qing's offer.

Lord Pingyuan died in the fifteenth year of Xiaocheng.¹ His descendants held the title after him until the fall of Zhao. Lord Pingyuan gave very generous treatment to Gongsun Long, a skilled logician, until he was ousted from favour by Zou Yan, who came to Zhao to expound the origin of things.

Yu Qing was an itinerant politician. Shod in straw sandals and carrying an umbrella, he spoke with King Xiaocheng of Zhao. After one interview he was given a hundred *yi* of gold and a pair of white jade discs, while after a second interview he was made chief minister. Thus he was known as Yu Qing or Minister Yu.

In the battle against Qin at Changping, the men of Zhao were worsted and lost their commander. The king consulted Lou Chang and Yu Qing, saying, "Our army has been defeated and our commander killed. What if I attack with all our men at arms?"

"That would be useless," said Lou Chang. "Better send some high-ranking envoy to treat for peace."

But Yu Qing said, "Lou Chang proposes peace for fear our army



【原文】

也。而制媾者在秦。且王之论秦也，欲破赵之军乎，不邪？”王曰：

“秦不遗余力矣，必且欲破赵军。”虞卿曰：“王听臣，发使出重宝以附楚、魏，楚、魏欲得王之重宝，必内吾使。赵使入楚、魏，秦必疑天下之合从，且必恐。如此，则媾乃可为也。”赵王不听，与平阳君为媾，发郑朱入秦。秦内之。赵王召虞卿曰：“寡人使平阳君为媾于秦，秦已内郑朱矣，卿以为奚如？”虞卿对曰：“王不得媾，军必破矣。天下贺战胜者皆在秦矣。郑朱，贵人也，入秦，秦王与应侯必显重以示天下。楚、魏以赵为媾，必不救王。秦知天下不救王，则媾不可得成也。”应侯果显郑朱以示天下贺战胜者，终不肯媾。长平大败，遂围邯郸，为天下笑。

【今译】

军队必被击败。可是决定是否讲和在于秦国。况且大王分析一下秦国，是想攻破赵国的军队呢，还是不呢？”赵王说：“秦国不遗余力，一定要攻破赵军。”虞卿说：“大王听我的，派使臣拿出贵重珍宝来依附楚国、魏国，楚国、魏国想得到大王的贵重珍宝，一定会接纳我们的使臣。赵国派使臣到楚国、魏国，秦国一定会怀疑天下要合纵，将必定很恐慌。这样，讲和才可行。”赵王没有听从，与平阳君决定讲和，派郑朱到秦国。秦国接纳了他。赵王召来虞卿说：“寡人派平阳君向秦国讲和，秦国已经接纳了郑朱，您以为怎么样？”虞卿回答说：“大王不可能讲和了，军队一定被攻破。天下祝贺战胜的都要在秦国了。郑朱，是重要人物，入使秦国，秦王和应侯一定要张扬此事以宣示天下。楚国、魏国以为赵国讲和，一定不救援大王。秦国知道天下不会救援大王，那么讲和不可能成功。”应侯果然把郑朱张扬显示给天下到秦国祝贺战争胜利的使臣看，终究不肯讲和。赵军在长平大败，秦军就包围了邯郸，赵王也被天下人所耻笑。



will be beaten, but making peace depends on Qin. In your view, does Qin want to destroy our army or not?"

"Qin is going all out to destroy us," replied the king.

Yu Qing said, "If you take my advice, you will send envoys with rich gifts to Chu and Wei. Wanting our gifts, these states will admit our envoys. Once our envoys enter Chu and Wei, Qin will take fright, suspecting that all the other states have allied against it. That is the only way to achieve peace."

The king did not accept this advice, however, but told Lord Pingyuan to negotiate and sent Zheng Zhu to Qin. When Qin accepted his envoy, the king of Zhao summoned Yu Qing and said, "I have asked Lord Pingyuan to negotiate for us, and Qin has accepted our envoy Zheng Zhu. What do you say to that?"

Yu Qing answered, "You will fail to make peace, the army will be destroyed, and all the world will go to congratulate Qin on its victory. Zheng Zhu is a nobleman, and the king of Qin and the marquis of Ying (Fan Sui) are bound to make a great show of respect for him. When Chu and Wei see you are treating for peace with Qin they will not come to your rescue, and when Qin sees that it will not agree to make peace."

Sure enough, the marquis of Ying paraded Zheng Zhu before all the envoys from different states who came to congratulate Qin on its victory, and Qin refused to make peace. Then the great defeat at Changping was followed by the siege of Handan, so that Zhao became the laughing-stock of the world.

【原文】

秦既解邯郸围，而赵王入朝，使赵郝约事于秦，割六县而媾。虞卿谓赵王曰：“秦之攻王也，倦而归乎？王以其力尚能进，爱王而弗攻乎？”王曰：“秦之攻我也，不遗余力矣，必以倦而归也。”虞卿曰：“秦以其力攻其所不能取，倦而归，王又以其力之所不能取以送之，是助秦自攻也。来年秦复攻王，王无救矣。”王以虞卿之言告赵郝。赵郝曰：“虞卿诚能尽秦力之所至乎？诚知秦力之所不能进，此弹丸之地弗予，令秦来年复攻王，王得无割其内而媾乎？”王曰：“请听子割矣，子能必使来年秦之不复攻我乎？”赵郝对曰：“此非臣之所敢任也。他日三晋之交于秦，相善也。今秦善韩、魏而攻王，王之所以事秦必不如韩、魏也。今臣

【今译】

秦国解除了对邯郸的包围后，赵王入秦朝，派赵郝订约事奉秦国，割让六个县来讲和。虞卿对赵王说：“秦国进攻大王，是疲倦而回去呢，还是他们有力量进攻，只是爱惜大王而不进攻呢？”赵王说：“秦国攻打我国，不遗余力，一定是因为疲倦了才撤回的。”虞卿说：“秦国凭它的力量攻打它不能夺取的土地，疲倦了才回去，大王又把秦国力量不能攻取的土地送给它，这是帮助秦国来进攻自己。来年秦国又进攻大王，大王就没有救了。”赵王把虞卿的话告诉了赵郝。赵郝说：“虞卿真的能完全知道秦国的力量能达到什么地步吗？真的知道秦国的力量不能进攻，这个弹丸之地也不给，但假若秦国来年又进攻大王，大王能够不割让您自己的领地来讲和吗？”赵王说：“我恭听您割地的意见，您一定能使秦国来年不再攻打我们吗？”赵郝回答说：“这不是我敢负责的。以往三晋和秦国相交，彼此亲善。现在秦国亲善韩国、魏国却进攻大王，这是大王事奉秦国必定不如韩国、魏国的缘故。现在我



After Qin raised the siege of Handan, the king of Zhao held court and told Zhao Hao to sue for peace and offer Qin six counties.

Yu Qing asked, "Has Qin withdrawn because it is exhausted? Or do you think it is still strong enough to advance but has called off the attack for your sake?"

The king answered, "Qin went all out in its attack. This withdrawal must be owing to exhaustion."

"So Qin attacked as hard as it could, yet was unable to take the city and has withdrawn, exhausted. If you give it what it was unable to take, you are helping Qin to attack us. Next year it will attack again, and you will be doomed."

The king repeated this to Zhao Hao, who said, "Can Yu Qing really know the strength of Qin? Suppose, knowing that Qin can do no more, we keep back these small patches of land, if it attacks again next year you will have to give up your palace to obtain peace."

"If I take your advice and give Qin these counties, can you guarantee no further attack next year?"

"I can't promise that," said Zhao Hao. "In the past the three states of Jin were on good terms with Qin, whereas now Qin is friendly with Han and Wei but has attacked us. This shows that we have not served Qin as well as Han and Wei have done. Now I can enter the Pass, present gifts, and serve Qin as well as Han and Wei have done. If there



【原文】

为足下解负亲之攻，开关通币，齐交韩、魏，至来年而王独取攻于秦，此王之所以事秦必在韩、魏之后也。此非臣之所敢任也。”

王以告虞卿。虞卿对曰：“郝言‘不媾，来年秦复攻王，王得无割其内而媾乎’？今媾，郝又以不能必秦之不复攻也。今虽割六城，何益！来年复攻，又割其力之所不能取而媾。此自尽之术也，不如无媾。秦虽善攻，不能取六县；赵虽不能守，终不失六城。秦倦而归，兵必罢。我以六城收天下以攻罢秦，是我失之于天下而取偿于秦也。吾国尚利，孰与坐而割地，自弱以强秦哉？今郝曰‘秦善韩、魏而攻赵者，必王之事秦不如韩、魏也’，是使王岁以六城

【今译】

替您解除了因背叛盟国而招来的攻击，开放边关，互通货币，与韩国、魏国对秦国修好的程度相等，到了来年大王如果单单被秦国进攻，这是因为大王事奉秦国一定在韩国、魏国之后的缘故。这不是我敢负责的。”

赵王把这些话告诉虞卿。虞卿回答说：“赵郝说‘不讲和，来年秦国又进攻大王，大王能够不割让您自己的领地来讲和吗’？现在要是讲和，赵郝又不能保证一定使秦国不再进攻。现在即使割让六座城，又有什么好处！来年又进攻，又要割让秦国国力不能夺取的土地来讲和。这是自杀的做法，还不如不讲和。秦国虽然善于进攻，也不能攻取六个县；赵国虽然不能防守，终究不会失去六座城邑。秦国疲倦而回，军队一定是力量不足。我们用六座城邑收服天下，进攻疲惫的秦国，这是我们在各国那里失去了六城，却在秦国那里得到了补偿。我国还有利，与平白无故地割地、削弱自己来壮大秦国哪一个好呢？现在赵郝说‘秦国亲善韩国、魏国而攻打赵国的原因，一定是大王事奉秦国不如韩国、魏



is an attack on us alone next year, that will mean you are still not serving Qin as well as Han and Wei — I cannot be responsible for that.”

The king repeated this to Yu Qing, who countered, “Zhao Hao says that if we do not make peace, next year when Qin attacks again we shall have to give your palace to obtain peace; but if we make peace with Qin, he cannot guarantee no further attack. What is the use, then, of giving up six cities? If Qin attacks again next year and to make peace we give up more land which it cannot take, we shall be cutting our own throats! Better not make peace. Although Qin launches strong attacks, it cannot take our six cities. Although we have given ground, we have not lost these six cities. Now Qin has withdrawn, exhausted, its troops tired out. If we use these cities to induce other states to attack Qin, exhausted as it is, we shall receive compensation for our cities from Qin. Our country is still strong. Why should we tamely surrender territory weakening ourselves and making Qin even more powerful?

“Zhao Hao says Qin is friendly with Han and Wei but has attacked Zhao, implying that Han and Wei will not help us, that we are standing alone, and that this shows we have not served Qin as well as Han and Wei. He wants you to give up six cities to Qin each year, which will soon amount to taking the surrender of all our cities lying down. Next

【原文】

事秦也，即坐而城尽。来年秦复求割地，王将与之乎？弗与，是弃前功而挑秦祸也；与之，则无地而给之。语曰，‘强者善攻，弱者不能守’，今坐而听秦，秦兵不弊而多得地，是强秦而弱赵也。以益强之秦而割愈弱之赵，其计故不止矣。且王之地有尽而秦之求无已。以有尽之地而给无已之求，其势必无赵矣。”

赵王计未定，楼缓从秦来，赵王与楼缓计之，曰：“予秦地如毋予，孰吉？”缓辞让曰：“此非臣之所能知也。”王曰：“虽然，试言公之私。”楼缓对曰：“王亦闻夫公甫文伯母乎？公甫文伯仕于鲁，病死，女子为自杀于房中者二人。其母闻之，弗哭也。其

【今译】

国’，这是让大王每年用六座城事奉秦国，这是坐视城邑被割尽。来年秦国又要求割地，大王还给它吗？不给，这是前功尽弃并挑起秦国进军的战祸；给了它，就没有土地再给了。俗话说‘强者善攻，弱者不能守’。现在无故地听从秦国，秦军没有疲敝就得到很多土地，这是壮大秦国削弱赵国啊。让更强大的秦国来宰割更弱小的赵国，秦国的要求本来就没有止境的。何况大王的土地有穷尽，可是秦国的欲求没完没了。凭有限的土地满足无限的欲求，这趋势一定是赵国不复存在了。”

赵王的计议还没有决定，楼缓从秦国回来，赵王和楼缓商量此事，说：“给秦国土地与不给秦国土地，哪一种好？”楼缓辞让说：“这不是我能知道的。”赵王说：“即使这样，请说说您私下的想法。”楼缓回答说：“大王也听说过公甫文伯母亲的事吗？公甫文伯在鲁国做官，病死了，姬妾为他在房中自杀的有两个人。他的母亲听说了，没有哭。他有个帮着料理家务的人说：‘哪有儿





year when Qin asks for cities, will you give it them or not? If you refuse, all past efforts will have been wasted and you will be asking for trouble. If you agree, you will soon have no more to give.

"The proverb says, 'When the powerful launch strong attacks, the weak must give ground.' If you let Qin have its way, it will add to its territory without fighting, and that will strengthen Qin while weakening Zhao. Qin as it grows stronger will never cease seizing land from us as we grow weaker. There is a limit to your territory, but none to their ambition. If things go on like this, Zhao will disappear."

Unable to make up his mind, the king consulted Lou Huan, just back from Qin. "Which is better, go give Qin land or not?"

"That is not for me to say," replied Huan.

"Still, what is your private opinion?"

"Does Your Majesty know the story of Gongfu Wenbo's mother? Gongfu served in the state of Lu, and when he fell ill and died two women killed themselves in their chambers. His mother, receiving word of this, did not mourn for him. Asked the reason by his nurse she said,



【原文】

相室曰：‘焉有子死而弗哭者乎？’其母曰：‘孔子，贤人也，逐于鲁，而是人不随也；今死，而妇人为之自杀者二人。若是者，必其于长者薄，而于妇人厚也。’故从母言之，是为贤母；从妻言之，是必不免为妒妻。故其言一也，言者异则人心变矣。今臣新从秦来，而言勿予，则非计也；言予之，恐王以臣为为秦也。故不敢对。使臣得为大王计，不如予之。”王曰：“诺。”

虞卿闻之，入见王曰：“此饰说也，王慎勿予！”楼缓闻之，往见王。王又以虞卿之言告楼缓。楼缓对曰：“不然。虞卿得其一，不得其二。夫秦、赵构难而天下皆说，何也？曰‘吾且因强而乘弱矣。’今赵兵困于秦，天下之贺战胜者则必尽在于秦矣。故不如亟

【今译】

子死了母亲还不哭的人？’他的母亲说：‘孔子是贤人，被鲁国驱逐，可是这个人没有跟随他。现在死了，姬妾为他自杀的有两个人，像这样一定是对长者感情淡薄而对妇人感情深厚。’所以从他母亲的角度说，这是位贤母；要是从他妻子的角度说这话，这一定免不了做妒妻。所以那些话虽然一样，说话的人不同，人心也就变了。现在我新近从秦国回来，如说不要给土地，那不是好计策；要是说给土地，恐怕大王以为我帮助秦国，所以不敢回答。如我能为大王计议的话，不如给了土地。”赵王说：“好。”

虞卿听说了，入朝见赵王说：“这是虚伪造作的言论，大王千万小心不要给土地！”楼缓听说了，去见赵王。赵王又把虞卿的话告诉了楼缓。楼缓说：“不对。虞卿只知其一，不知其二。秦国、赵国交战，天下都高兴，为什么？他们说‘我们将要依靠强国来欺凌弱国’。现在赵军被秦国军队围困，天下祝贺战争胜利的一定都要跑到秦国了。所以不如赶快割地讲和，使天下人产生怀



'The sage Confucius was driven away from Lu, but he did not follow Confucius. Now two of his wives have killed themselves because of his death, which shows how little he thought of elders, how much of women.' These words spoken by his mother prove that she was a good mother, whereas if spoken by his wife they would simply have shown jealousy. Thus the same words may have a different meaning, depending upon the speaker. Now I have just come from Qin. If I urge you not to cede these cities, it would be bad advice. If I urge you to cede them, you may suspect me of speaking on behalf of Qin. So I dare say nothing. If I were you, I would give up these cities." The king agreed with him.

When Yu Qing knew this he went to the king and said, "He is hiding his real motives. You must not agree!"

Lou Huan, learning of this, went back to see the king, who told him what Yu Qing has said. Lou Huan replied, "No, Yu Qing sees one side only, not the other. Now all other states are gloating over this trouble between Qin and Zhao. Why? They hope to side with the stronger to take advantage of the weaker. They have sent congratulations to Qin on defeating our army. We had better give up some land



【原文】

割地为和，以疑天下，而慰秦之心。不然，天下将因秦之强怒，乘赵之弊，瓜分之。赵且亡，何秦之图乎？故曰虞卿得其一，不得其二。愿王以此决之，勿复计也！”

虞卿闻之，往见王曰：“危哉！楼子之所以为秦者。是愈疑天下，而何慰秦之心哉！独不言其示天下弱乎？且臣言勿予者，非固勿予而已也。秦索六城于王，而王以六城赂齐。齐，秦之深仇也，得王之六城，并力西击秦，齐之听王，不待辞之毕也。则是王失之于齐而取偿于秦也。而齐、赵之深仇可以报矣，而示天下有能为也。王以此发声，兵未窥于境，臣见秦之重赂至赵，而反媾于王也。从秦为媾，韩、魏闻之，必尽重王。重王，必出重宝

【今译】

疑，并且能宽慰秦国的心。不然，天下将要趁着秦国恼怒，利用赵国疲敝，瓜分赵国。赵国将要灭亡了，如何图谋秦国呢？所以说虞卿知其一，不知其二。希望大王就这样决定下来，不要再考虑了！”

虞卿听说后，去见赵王说：“楼子这样替秦国卖力，危险啦！这样更使天下人怀疑，又怎么能宽慰秦国的心！为什么单单不说我们向天下示弱呢？况且我说不给土地，并不是一定不给土地就算了。秦国向大王索要六座城，大王可以用六座城贿赂齐国。齐国，与秦国有深仇，得到了大王的六座城，和赵国合力攻打秦国，齐国会听从大王，不用等到话说完就会应允的。这样大王失去了送给齐国的六座城却从秦国取得了补偿。齐国、赵国的深仇也可以报了，也让天下看出赵国有能力，有作为。大王要凭此宣布，军队还没有窥伺边境，我已经看到秦国的大量财物已经送到赵国，反过来向大王讲和了。答应和秦国讲和，韩国、魏国听说后，一定要全部藉重大王；一定会拿出重宝争先送给大王。这样



at once to make peace, to sow doubts in the others and placate Qin. Otherwise they will take advantage of Qin's might and of our weakness to carve up our state as if it were a melon. That would mean the end of Zhao and all these speculations about Qin. This is why I say Yu Qing sees one side only, not the other. I hope Your Majesty will make up your mind and not hesitate any longer."

Word of this reached Yu Qing, who went back to the king and said, "What a dangerous proposal! Lou Huan is working for Qin. This would make the other states suspect you more without placating Qin. Why didn't he say that this would show the world your weakness? Besides, when I advised you not to cede those cities, I had something else in mind. Qin has asked you for six cities. Well then, offer six to Qi, Qin's sworn enemy. For then, if asked to join in an attack on Qin in the west, Qi will agree before you finish your speech. In this way you will cede something to Qi but gain compensation from Qin, while both you and Qi can take your revenge and display your power to the world. If you make known your intention then Qin will send rich gifts and sue for peace before your armies set out. When you accept and Han and Wei hear of it, they will think highly of you and send rich gifts too. So

【原文】

以先于王。则是王一举而结三国之亲，而与秦易道也。”赵王曰：“善。”则使虞卿东见齐王，与之谋秦。虞卿未返，秦使者已在赵矣。楼缓闻之，亡去。赵于是封虞卿以一城。

居顷之，而魏请为从。赵孝成王召虞卿谋。过平原君，平原君曰：“愿卿之论从也。”虞卿入见王。王曰：“魏请为从。”对曰：“魏过。”王曰：“寡人固未之许。”对曰：“王过。”王曰：“魏请从，卿曰‘魏过’，寡人未之许，又曰‘寡人过’。然则从终不可乎？”对曰：“臣闻小国之与大国从事也，有利则大国受其福，有败则小国受其祸。今魏以小国请其祸，而王以大国辞其福，臣故曰王过，魏亦过。窃以为从便。”王曰：“善。”乃合魏

【今译】

大王一举就和三国结交亲善，这是与秦国交换了主动与被动的地位。”赵王说：“好。”就派虞卿向东进见齐王，和齐国一起对付秦国。虞卿还没有返回，秦国使者已经在赵国了。楼缓听说后，逃跑了。赵国因此把一座城封给虞卿。

过了不久，魏国请求与赵国订立合纵盟约。赵孝成王召来虞卿商议。虞卿拜访了平原君，平原君说：“希望您去谈论合纵的利弊。”虞卿进见赵王。赵王说：“魏国请求合纵。”虞卿回答说：“魏国错了。”赵王说：“寡人本来没有答应他。”虞卿回答说：“大王错了。”赵王说：“魏国请求合纵，您说魏国错了，寡人说没有答应，您又说寡人错了，那么合纵终究不可行吗？”虞卿回答说：“我听说小国与大国交往行事，如果胜利了那大国享有好处，如果失败了，小国遭殃。现在魏国因为是小国却愿意遭殃，可是大王因为是大国却推辞不受好处，我因此说大王错了，魏国也错了。我以为合纵有好处。”赵王说：“好。”赵国就和魏国建立合



at one stroke you will make friends with three states, while your position and Qin's will be reversed."

The king approved and sent Yu Qing eastwards to the king of Qi to discuss an alliance against Qin. Before Yu Qing's return, an envoy from Qin had reached Zhao. When Lou Huan knew this, he fled. The king enfeoffed Yu Qing with a city.

Later Wei offered to ally with Zhao and the king summoned Yu Qing to consult him. Yu Qing first saw Lord Pingyuan, who said, "I hope you will speak in favour of the alliance." Then he went in to the king. When told of the proposal Yu Qing said, "Wei is making a mistake."

"That is why I have not agreed," rejoined the king.

"Then Your Majesty is making a mistake."

"You say Wei is mistaken in seeking an alliance, and I am mistaken in refusing. Are we then not to consider an alliance at all?"

Yu Qing replied, "I have heard that when a small state allies with a large one, it is the large state that benefits if all goes well, while if there is trouble the small state suffers. Now Wei as a small state is asking for trouble, while you with your large state are missing a golden opportunity. That is why I say that both Wei and Your Majesty are mistaken. I think the alliance would be to our advantage."

The king approved and entered into an alliance with Wei.

【原文】

为从。

虞卿既以魏齐之故，不重万户侯卿相之印，与魏齐间行。卒去赵，困于梁。魏齐已死，不得意，乃著书，上采《春秋》，下观近世，曰《节义》、《称号》、《揣摩》、《政谋》，凡八篇。以刺讥国家得失，世传之曰《虞氏春秋》。

太史公曰：平原君，翩翩浊世之佳公子也，然未睹大体。鄙语曰“利令智昏”，平原君贪冯亭邪说，使赵陷长平兵四十余万众，邯郸几亡。虞卿料事揣情，为赵画策，何其工也！及不忍魏齐，卒困于大梁，庸夫且知其不可，况贤人乎？然虞卿非穷愁，亦不能著书以自见于后世云。

【今译】

纵联盟。

虞卿终于因为魏齐的缘故，不看重万户侯卿相的官爵，和魏齐从小道逃跑，终于离开了赵国，被困在大梁。魏齐死后，虞卿很不得志，就著书立说，上从《春秋》书中搜集，下从近代的世情中观察，书名叫作《节义》、《称号》、《揣摩》、《政谋》等，一共八篇。用以批评国家的得失，世上流行他的书称作《虞氏春秋》。

太史公说：平原君是乱世时代风流洒脱、有才干的公子，可是看不到大的方面。俗话说“利令智昏”，平原君贪信冯亭的邪说，使赵国被活埋在长平的士兵达四十多万人，邯郸几乎沦陷。虞卿预料大事揣摩情况，替赵国出谋划策，多么周密啊！等到不忍心抛下魏齐，终于被困在大梁，庸人还知道这样做不行，何况贤人呢？可是虞卿如果不是穷愁困苦，也不能著书向后世自我表现了。



For the sake of Wei Qi, Yu Qing gave up his fief of ten thousand families and the seal of a chief minister. He fled with Wei Qi from Zhao and found himself in difficulties at Daliang. After Wei Qi's death he was not so highly regarded, and therefore he started to write a book based on material from the past as well as his observation of recent events. There were eight chapters in all, including the chapters "On Character", "On Titles", "On Speculation" and "On Policy". This book, passing judgement on good government and bad, has been handed down as the *Annals of Yu Qing*.

The Grand Historian comments: Lord Pingyuan was a fine nobleman in troubled times, but he failed to keep in sight what was most important. As the proverb says, "Profit makes fools of the wise." Lord Pingyuan, led astray by Feng Ting's bad advice, was responsible for making Zhao lose more than four hundred thousand men in the Battle of Changping and nearly losing Handan.

Yu Qing was a man of shrewd judgement and great insight, and his plans for Zhao were certainly well devised. Yet he let pity for Wei Qi involve him in trouble at Daliang. Even an ordinary man should not be such a fool, let alone a man of his talent! However, if not for his troubles and misfortunes, he would have been unable to write his book which has been handed down to posterity.

¹ 251 B.C.



魏公子列传

【原文】

魏公子无忌者，魏昭王少子而魏安釐王异母弟也。昭王薨，安釐王即位，封公子为信陵君。是时范雎亡魏相秦，以怨魏齐故，秦兵围大梁，破魏华阳下军，走芒卯。魏王及公子患之。

公子为人仁而下士，士无贤不肖皆谦而礼交之，不敢以其富贵骄士。士以此方数千里争往归之，致食客三千人。当是时，诸侯以公子贤，多客，不敢加兵谋魏十余年。

公子与魏王博，而北境传举烽，言“赵寇至，且入界。”魏王释博，欲召大臣谋。公子止王曰：“赵王田猎耳，非为寇也。”

【今译】

魏公子无忌，是魏昭王的小儿子、魏安釐王的同父异母的弟弟。魏昭王死后，魏安釐王即位，赐封公子为信陵君。这时候范雎从魏国逃到秦国做宰相，因为怨恨魏齐，秦军包围了大梁，攻破了魏国华阳的驻军，赶跑了芒卯。魏王和公子都为此事担忧。

公子为人仁厚，尊重士人，士人无论是才能高的还是才能低的，都很谦恭地以礼交往，不敢因为他的富贵而傲慢地对待士人。因此方圆数千里内的士人争着归附他，招致的食客达三千人。在这时，各诸侯国因为公子贤明，宾客又多，不敢进兵对付魏国有十多年。

公子和魏王赌棋，北方边境传递着举起烽火，说“赵国侵略者来了，将要侵入边界了”。魏王推开棋具，想召集大臣商议。公子制止魏王说：“赵王是在野外打猎，不是入侵。”又照旧下



Lord Xinling

Wuji, younger son of King Zhao of Wei and step-brother of King An Xi, was made Lord Xinling when King Zhao died and King An Xi succeeded to the throne. At that time Fan Sui had fled from Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) to become the prime minister of Qin; and because he hated Wei Qi, the Qin armies besieged the Wei capital Daliang and routed the forces of Wei at Huayang, putting General Mang Mao to flight. The king of Wei and Lord Xinling were sorely troubled.

Lord Xinling was a kindly, unassuming man, who showed courtesy to all he met whether they had talent or not and did not stand on his dignity because of his wealth and position. So followers flocked to him from hundreds of *li* around until he had about three thousand protégés; and when the other feudal lords saw his ability and the number of his supporters, they dared not attack Wei. Thus more than ten years passed without further alarms.

One day Lord Xinling was playing draughts with the king of Wei when word was brought that beacon fires had been lit on the northern border and the king of Zhao was about to invade their territory. The king rose from the table to summon a council of ministers at once, but Lord Xinling stopped him.

"The king of Zhao is only out hunting," he assured him. "This is no invasion."

【原文】

复博如故。王恐，心不在博。居顷，复从北方来传言曰：“赵王猎耳，非为寇也。”魏王大惊，曰：“公子何以知之？”公子曰：“臣之客有能深得赵王阴事者，赵王所为，客辄以报臣，臣以此知之。”是后魏王畏公子之贤能，不敢任公子以国政。

魏有隐士曰侯嬴，年七十，家贫，为大梁夷门监者。公子闻之，往请，欲厚遗之。不肯受，曰：“臣修身洁行数十年，终不以监门困故而受公子财。”公子于是乃置酒大会宾客。坐定，公子从车骑，虚左，自迎夷门侯生。侯生摄敝衣冠，直上载公子上坐，不让，欲以观公子。公子执辔愈恭。侯生又谓公子曰：“臣有客在市屠中，愿枉车骑过之。”公子引车入市，侯生下见其客朱亥，俾

【今译】

棋。魏王害怕了，心不在棋盘上面。过了一会儿，又从北方传来消息说：“赵王是在野外打猎，不是入侵。”魏王非常吃惊，说：

“公子怎么知道的？”公子说：“我的门客中有能探到赵王的私事的人，赵王干什么，门客就把它报告给我，我因此知道。”此后魏王害怕公子的贤能，不敢让公子负责国政。

魏国有个隐士叫侯嬴，七十岁了，家里贫穷，是大梁夷门的看门人。公子听说了，前去问候，想送给他丰厚的礼物。侯嬴不肯接受，说：“我修养身心、纯洁德行几十年了，终究不能因为看门穷困的缘故接受公子的钱财。”公子于是摆酒大会宾客。坐定后，公子带着车马，空着左面的座位，亲自迎接夷门侯生。侯生整整破衣服帽子，直接坐上载着公子的车的上座，没有谦让，想以此观察公子。公子握着缰绳，更加恭敬。侯生又对公子说：“我有个朋友在街上的屠坊里，希望委屈您的车马，让我拜访他。”公子驾着车马到市场，侯生下车见了他的朋友朱亥，斜着眼看公





Lord Xinling played calmly on, while the king was too worried to concentrate on the game. Presently another messenger arrived from the north to report that the king of Zhao had come out to hunt, not to launch any attack.

"How did you know this, sir?" the astonished king asked Lord Xinling.

"Among my protégés are men who know all the secrets of the king of Zhao. They tell me at once what he is doing. That is how I knew."

Then the king began to fear his step-brother's abilities and no longer dared entrust affairs of state to him.

There was an old man of seventy in Wei, named Hou Ying, who lived in poverty and served as the warden of Yi Gate in Daliang. When Lord Xinling knew this he called on him with gifts, but Hou Ying declined them.

"I have lived simply for many years to cultivate virtue," he said. "Poor as I am, I cannot accept your gifts, sir."

Some time later Lord Xinling prepared a great banquet to which he invited many guests. When they had taken their seats he drove with a retinue to Yi Gate to fetch Hou Ying in person, leaving the left seat in his chariot empty for the old man. Dusting off his tattered clothes and cap, Hou Ying promptly took the seat of honour without one polite word of protest, watching Lord Xinling to see how he would take this. But Lord Xinling, reins in hand, appeared more respectful than ever.

"I have a friend who is a butcher in the market-place," said Hou Ying. "Would you mind passing that way?"

So Lord Xinling drove his chariot into the market, where Hou Ying alighted to speak to his friend, Zhu Hai. He deliberately stood for

【原文】

倪，故久立，与其客语，微察公子。公子颜色愈和。当是时，魏将相宗室宾客满堂，待公子举酒。市人皆观公子执辔。从骑皆窃骂侯生。侯生视公子色终不变，乃谢客就车。至家，公子引侯生坐上坐，遍赞宾客，宾客皆惊。酒酣，公子起，为寿侯生前。侯生因谓公子曰：“今日嬴之为公子亦足矣。嬴乃夷门抱关者也，而公子亲枉车骑，自迎嬴于众人广坐之中，不宜有所过，今公子故过之。然嬴欲就公子之名，故久立公子车骑市中，过客以观公子，公子愈恭。市人皆以嬴为小人，而以公子为长者能下士也。”于是罢酒，侯生遂为上客。

侯生谓公子曰：“臣所过屠者朱亥，此子贤者，世莫能知，故

【今译】

子，故意久久地站着和他的朋友说话，暗中观察公子。公子脸色更加温和。在这时，魏国的将相、王亲宾客满堂，等着公子开宴。市场里的人都看到公子握着缰绳。跟从公子的人都暗骂侯嬴。侯嬴看到公子脸色始终不变，就告辞朋友来到车上。到了家，公子领着侯嬴坐到上座，给侯嬴一一介绍在座的宾客，宾客都惊讶了。饮酒尽兴，公子站起来到侯嬴面前祝寿。侯嬴就对公子说：“今天我侯嬴难为公子也真够多了。我侯嬴是夷门守门的人，可是公子亲自委屈车马，亲自到大庭广众之中迎接我，本来不应如此过礼，可是如今公子却故意为我而过礼。而我侯嬴想成就公子的名声，故意久久使公子的车马停在市场中，藉拜访朋友来观察公子，公子更加谦恭。市场的人都认为我侯嬴是小人，认为公子是能够尊重士人的长厚的人。”在酒宴撤了后，侯嬴就成了上宾了。

侯嬴对公子说：“我拜访的屠夫朱亥，这是个有才能的人，世



a long time chatting to the butcher, stealing sidelong glances at Lord Xinling, who showed no sign of impatience. Meanwhile the generals, ministers, nobles and protégés of Wei who thronged Lord Xinling's hall were waiting for his return to start the feast. The whole market was staring to see him act as charioteer, while all his outriders were cursing Hou Ying under their breath. When the old warden saw how imperturbably Lord Xinling was waiting, he took leave of his friend and mounted the chariot again.

Upon reaching his mansion, Lord Xinling made Hou Ying take the seat of honour and introduced him to his guests, to the amazement of all. And during the feast he went across to toast him.

"I put you to a hard test today, my lord," said Hou Ying. "I am only a warden at Yi Gate, yet you drove your chariot through the crowds to bring me here, calling for me in person and unnecessarily going out of your way. And when I further tried your famed courtesy by making you wait so long in the market-place with your chariot and outriders while I called on a friend, I observed that you looked more courteous than ever. The whole market despised me then, but admired you for your noble humility."

After this feast Hou Ying became one of Lord Xinling's most honoured guests.

【原文】

隐屠间耳。”公子往数请之，朱亥故不复谢。公子怪之。

魏安釐王二十年，秦昭王已破赵长平军，又进兵围邯郸。公子姊为赵惠文王弟平原君夫人，数遗魏王及公子书，请救于魏。魏王使将军晋鄙将十万众救赵。秦王使使者告魏王曰：“吾攻赵，旦暮且下，而诸侯敢救者，已拔赵，必移兵先击之。”魏王恐，使人止晋鄙，留军壁邺，名为救赵，实持两端以观望。平原君使者冠盖相属于魏，让魏公子曰：“胜所以自附为婚姻者，以公子之高义，为能急人之困，今邯郸旦暮降秦，而魏救不至，安在公子能急人之困也！且公子纵轻胜，弃之降秦，独不怜公子姊邪！”公子患之，数请

【今译】

上没人能了解他，所以隐居在屠坊里。”公子多次去问候他，朱亥故意不回拜。公子对此感到奇怪。

魏安釐王二十年(公元前257年)，秦昭王已经攻破了赵国长平的驻军，又进兵包围了邯郸。公子的姐姐是赵惠文王的弟弟平原君的夫人，多次送给魏王及公子书信，向魏国求救。魏王派将军晋鄙领十万人救援赵国。秦王派使者告诉魏王说：“我攻打赵国早晚将要攻下，诸侯有敢救援赵国的，在我攻下赵国后，一定要调兵先攻打它。”魏王害怕了，派人阻止晋鄙，把军队留在邺城扎营，名义上是救赵，实际上是犹豫观望。平原君派使者络绎不绝地到了魏国，指责魏公子说：“赵胜高攀您，和您结为婚姻的原因，是因为公子的行为高尚，能够急人所难。现在邯郸早晚就要投降秦国，而魏国的救兵没到，公子急人所难又在哪里呢！何况公子纵然轻视我赵胜，抛弃我，让我投降秦国，您难道不怜爱您的姐姐吗？”公子很担心，多次请见魏王，还派门客、辩士用多种手



One day he told him, "Zhu Hai, the butcher I called on, is an able man. But because no one has recognized his talents he is living in obscurity as a butcher."

Lord Xinling called on Zhu Hai several times, but to his surprise the butcher showed no sign of appreciation.

In the twentieth year of King An Xi,¹ King Zhao of Qin routed the army of Zhao at Changping and advanced to besiege Handan. Lord Xinling's elder sister had married Lord Pingyuan, younger brother of King Huiwen of Zhao, and now she sent repeatedly to her brothers, the king of Wei and Lord Xinling, to beg for aid. But when the king of Wei dispatched General Jin Bi with a hundred thousand men to Zhao's assistance, the king of Qin sent an envoy to him with this warning:

"Zhao is about to fall. If any other state dare go to its aid, I shall lead my troops against it as soon as I have conquered Zhao."

The panic-stricken king of Wei immediately ordered Jin Bi to advance no further but simply to garrison Yan,² ostensibly aiding Zhao while actually sitting on the fence. Then carriage after carriage of envoys came from Lord Pingyuan to Wei.

"I was eager to ally with you by marriage," Lord Pingyuan reproached Lord Xinling, "because you were famed for your high-minded generosity and for helping those in distress. Now our capital may fall to Qin at any moment, but we have had no assistance from Wei. Is this your way of helping friends in need? Of course, you may think so poorly of me that you do not care if I fall captive to Qin; but have you no feeling for your sister?"

Time and again, in great distress, Lord Xinling pleaded with the king and sent protégés and orators to reason with him; but for fear of

【原文】

魏王及宾客辩士说王万端。魏王畏秦，终不听公子。公子自度终不能得之于王，计不独生而令赵亡，乃请宾客，约车骑百余乘，欲以客往赴秦军，与赵俱死。

行过夷门，见侯生，具告所以欲死秦军状。辞决而行，侯生曰：“公子勉之矣！老臣不能从。”公子行数里，心不快，曰：“吾所以待侯生者备矣，天下莫不闻，今吾且死，而侯生曾无一言半辞送我，我岂有所失哉？”复引车还问侯生。侯生笑曰：“臣固知公子之还也。”曰：“公子喜士，名闻天下。今有难，无他端而欲赴秦军，譬若以肉投馁虎，何功之有哉？尚安事客？然公子遇臣厚，公子往而臣不送，以是知公子恨之复返也。”公子再拜，因问。侯生

【今译】

段劝说魏王。魏王畏惧秦国，终究没有听从公子。公子自己揣测终究不能从魏王那里得到什么，便决定不图自己苟活而让赵国灭亡，就请求宾客，凑集了百余辆车马，想带领门客前赴秦军，与赵国共存亡。

路过夷门，遇见了侯嬴，把想同秦军拼死的情况全都告诉了侯嬴。说完了告别要走，侯嬴说：“公子努力吧！老臣不能跟从了。”公子走了几里地，心里不快，说：“我对待侯嬴够周到的，天下没有谁不知道，现在我将要去死可是侯嬴没有一言半语送给我，我难道有什么过失吗？”又领车返回，问侯嬴。侯嬴笑着说：“我本来知道公子要回来的。”又说：“公子喜欢士人，名闻天下。现在有了困难，没有别的办法，想与秦军拼命，这好比用肉扔给饿虎，有什么用呢？又哪里用得着这些门客呢？可是公子对我很优厚，公子前往而我却没有送，我因此知道公子恨我会再返回。”公子又拜了拜，就向他请教。侯嬴就让人退下，私下说：



Qin the king ignored their advice. Realizing that the king was not to be persuaded, and unwilling to live to see the downfall of Zhao, Lord Xinling preferring to perish with Zhao mustered from among his retainers a force of more than a hundred chariots and riders to attack the army of Qin. Passing Yi Gate he explained his mission to Hou Ying and took his leave of him.

"Farewell then, my lord," said Hou Ying. "I am too old to follow you."

Lord Xinling rode for several *li* with a growing sense of grievance. "The whole world knows how much I have done for Hou Ying," he thought. "Yet now that I am going to die, he has not a word to say to me. Can I have offended him in any way?"

He drove back to question the old man.

"I knew you would be back," said Hou Ying with a smile.

"You are famed far and wide for your generosity to able men; yet now that trouble has arisen you can think of nothing better than to pit yourself against the army of Qin. This is like tossing meat to a hungry tiger — what good can come of it? What has been the use of making so many friends? You have treated me so well that, when I did not see you off, I knew you would resent it and come back."

Lord Xinling bowed and begged for his advice, whereupon Hou Ying sent everyone else away.



【原文】

乃屏人间语曰：“嬴闻晋鄙之兵符常在王卧内，而如姬最幸，出入王卧内，力能窃之。嬴闻如姬父为人所杀，如姬资之三年，自王以下欲求报其父仇，莫能得。如姬为公子泣，公子使客斩其仇头，敬进如姬。如姬之欲为公子死，无所辞，顾未有路耳。公子诚一开口请如姬，如姬必许诺，则得虎符夺晋鄙军，北救赵而西却秦，此五霸之伐也。”公子从其计，请如姬。如姬果盗晋鄙兵符与公子。

公子行，侯生曰：“将在外，主令有所不受，以便国家。公子即合符，而晋鄙不授公子兵而复请之，事必危矣。臣客屠者朱亥可与俱，此人力士。晋鄙听，大善；不听，可使击之。”于是公

【今译】

“我听说晋鄙的兵符经常放在魏王的卧室内，如姬又最受宠幸，出入大王卧室，有能力偷出兵符。我听说如姬的父亲被人杀害，如姬怀愤三年了，从大王以下的人都想替她报杀父之仇，没有人办得到。如姬对公子哭泣，公子派门客斩了她仇人的头，敬献给如姬。如姬想去为公子死，她是不会推辞的，只是没有机会罢了。公子真的一开口求如姬，如姬一定答应，那么得到虎符夺取晋鄙的军队，北面救援赵国，西面打退秦国，这是五霸的功业啊。”公子听从了他的计策，请求如姬帮忙。如姬果然偷来了晋鄙的兵符送给了公子。

公子临行，侯嬴说：“将在外，君令有所不受，以求对国家有利。公子就是合了兵符，可是晋鄙不授给公子军队，并且还向魏王请示，事情一定危险了。我的朋友屠夫朱亥可以跟您一起去，这人是个人士。晋鄙听从了，很好；不听从，可以让朱亥打死



"I have heard that Jin Bi's army tally is kept in the king's bed-chamber," he whispered. "Lady Ru, the king's favourite, is in and out of his chamber all the time and could easily steal the tally. I have heard, too, that after Lady Ru's father was murdered she thirsted three years for revenge and appealed in vain to everyone from the king down to his ministers to avenge her. When she pleaded with you, however, you sent a man to cut off her enemy's head and presented it to her. This lady would risk any danger, even death itself, to repay you, but she has not yet had the chance. She will certainly consent to get you the tally. And once you have it you can take over Jin Bi's troops, march north to Zhao's aid and beat back the forces of Qin, a campaign worthy of the five conquerors of old!"

Lord Xinling, acting on Hou Ying's advice, prevailed on Lady Ru to steal the tally. As he was about to leave, Hou Ying cautioned him, "A general at the front is not bound to obey his sovereign's orders if they endanger the state. So even though you have the right half of the tally, Jin Bi may refuse to hand over his command until he receives confirmation from the king, in which case there will be trouble. You had better take my friend the butcher with you, for he is a powerful man. If Jin Bi agrees, well and good; if not, Zhu Hai can kill him."

【原文】

子泣。侯生曰：“公子畏死邪？何泣也？”公子曰：“晋鄙嚄唶宿将，往恐不听，必当杀之，是以泣耳，岂畏死哉！”于是公子请朱亥。朱亥笑曰：“臣乃市井鼓刀屠者，而公子亲数存之，所以不报谢者，以为小礼无所用。今公子有急，此乃臣效命之秋也。”遂与公子俱。公子过谢侯生。侯生曰：“臣宜从，老不能。请数公子行日，以至晋鄙军之日，北乡自刭，以送公子。”公子遂行。

至邺，矫魏王令代晋鄙。晋鄙合符，疑之，举手视公子曰：“今吾拥十万之众，屯于境上，国之重任，今单车来代之，何如哉？”欲无听。朱亥袖四十斤铁椎，椎杀晋鄙，公子遂将晋鄙军。勒兵下令军中曰：“父子俱在军中，父归；兄弟俱在军中，兄归；

【今译】

他。”于是公子哭了。侯嬴说：“公子怕死吗？为什么哭呢？”公子说：“晋鄙是个声威赫赫的老将，我前去他恐怕不会听从，一定要杀了他，因此哭泣，哪里是怕死呢？”于是公子请见朱亥。朱亥笑着说：“我是市场中操刀的屠夫，可是公子亲自多次问候我，我不回拜答谢，是认为小礼没有用的缘故。现在公子有急难，这是我为您效命的时候了。”就和公子一起去。公子前往向侯嬴告辞。侯嬴说：“我应该跟着您，只是年老不行了。请让我计算公子的行期，当您到了晋鄙军队的时候，我就向北面自刎，来给公子送行。”公子就出发了。

公子到了邺城，假传魏王命令代替晋鄙。晋鄙合了兵符，怀疑此事，举起手看着公子说：“现在我拥有十万人，屯在边境上，这是国家的重任，现在您单独一辆车来代替我，这是为什么？”想要不听从。朱亥拿出藏在袖中的四十斤铁椎，一椎打死了晋鄙，公子就统率晋鄙的军队。整顿全军，向军中下令说：“父子都在军中的，父亲回去；兄弟都在军中的，兄长回去；没有兄弟的独





Lord Xinling was moved to tears.

"Why are you weeping?" asked Hou Ying. "Are you afraid of death?"

"Jin Bi is a veteran commander and completely fearless," Lord Xinling replied. "He is not likely to obey me and I may have to kill him. That is why I shed tears, not because I am afraid of death."

When he asked Zhu Hai to accompany him the butcher laughed and said, "I am a butcher who chops up meat in the market, yet you have called on me time and again. I did not show my gratitude before because such small courtesies are meaningless; but now that you have need of me, my life is at your disposal."

So he accompanied Lord Xinling, who left the city by the Yi Gate in order to thank Hou Ying.

"I would go with you were I not so old," said Hou Ying. "As it is, I shall estimate the time it will take you to reach Jin Bi, and that day I will face north and kill myself to prove my loyalty."

Lord Xinling, reaching Ye, claimed that he had orders from the king to take over Jin Bi's command. But although the two halves of the tally fitted each other Jin Bi had certain misgivings and, raising a protesting hand, he looked hard at Lord Xinling.

"As commander of a hundred thousand men at the frontier, I have a great responsibility to the state," he said. "How is it you have arrived in a single chariot to replace me?"

He was about to refuse when Zhu Hai killed him with a forty-pound iron pestle which he had hidden under his coat. Then Lord Xinling took over the command and announced to his troops, "If father and son are both serving here, the father may go home. If there are brothers, the elder may go home. And if any soldier is an only son, he may go home to support his family."



【原文】

独子无兄弟，归养。”得选兵八万人，进兵击秦军。秦军解去，遂救邯郸，存赵。赵王及平原君自迎公子于界，平原君负鞬矢为公子先引。赵王再拜曰：“自古贤人未有及公子者也。”当此之时，平原君不敢自比于人。公子与侯生决，至军，侯生果北乡自刭。

魏王怒公子之盗其兵符，矫杀晋鄙，公子亦自知也。已却秦存赵，使将将其军归魏，而公子独与客留赵。赵孝成王德公子之矫夺晋鄙兵而存赵，乃与平原君计，以五城封公子。公子闻之，意骄矜而有自功之色。客有说公子曰：“物有不可忘，或有不可不忘。夫人有德于公子，公子不可忘也；公子有德于人，愿公子忘之也。且矫魏王令，夺晋鄙兵以救赵，于赵则有功矣，于魏则未为忠臣也。

【今译】

子，回去奉养父母。”由此选出了精兵八万人，进兵攻打秦军。秦军解围离开，就救了邯郸，保存了赵国。赵王及平原君亲自到边界迎接公子，平原君背着箭袋替公子作先导。赵王又一次下拜说：“自古贤人没有赶得上公子的。”在这时，平原君不敢把自己同别人相比。公子和侯嬴分别后，到了军中，侯嬴果然向北面自刎而死。

魏王恼怒公子盗了他的兵符，假传命令杀了晋鄙，公子自己也知道魏王会恼怒的。已经打退秦军，保住了赵国，派将军带兵回魏国，可是公子单单和宾客留在赵国。赵孝成王感激公子假令夺取了晋鄙的军队而保存了赵国，就和平原君商议，用五座城封给公子。公子听说后，心中骄傲起来，露出了自以为有功的神色。门客中有人劝公子说：“事情有不该忘记的，还有不该不忘记的。别人对公子有恩德，公子不该忘；公子对别人有恩德，希望公子忘了它。况且假传魏王命令，夺取了晋鄙的军队来救援赵国，对赵国有功了，对魏国则不算是个忠臣啊。公子却自己骄



Then with eighty thousand picked troops he advanced to the attack. The army of Qin withdrew, the siege of Handan was raised and Zhao was saved. The king of Zhao and Lord Pingyuan went to the boundary to meet him in person, and Lord Pingyuan carried his quiver and went before as his guide. "History knows no greater man than you, sir!" said the king of Zhao with a bow. And Lord Pingyuan felt unworthy to be compared with him.

After Lord Xinling left Hou Ying and reached the army, the old man faced north as he had promised and killed himself.

Aware that he had incurred the king of Wei's anger by stealing the tally and killing Jin Bi, once Qin had withdrawn and Zhao was safe Lord Xinling ordered a general to lead the troops back to Wei while he and his protégés remained in Zhao. King Xiaocheng of Zhao was so grateful for his help that after discussing the matter with Lord Pingyuan he decided to present Lord Xinling with five cities. And when the latter knew of this, he began to plume himself on his achievement.

"There are things a man should remember and things he should forget," a protégé warned him. "If someone does you a good turn, by all means remember it; but if you do someone else a good turn, forget it. Taking over Jin Bi's command on feigned orders from the king of Wei to rescue Zhao, you did Zhao a good service but were dis-

【原文】

公子乃自骄而功之，窃为公子不取也。”于是公子立自责，似若无所容者。赵王埽除自迎，执主人之礼，引公子就西阶。公子侧行辞让，从东阶上。自言罪过，以负于魏，无功于赵。赵王侍酒至暮，口不忍献五城，以公子退让也。公子竟留赵。赵王以鄯为公子汤沐邑，魏亦复以信陵奉公子。公子留赵。

公子闻赵有处士毛公藏于博徒，薛公藏于卖浆家，公子欲见两人，两人自匿不肯见公子。公子闻所在，乃闲步往从此两人游，甚欢。平原君闻之，谓其夫人曰：“始吾闻夫人弟公子天下无双，今吾闻之，乃妄从博徒卖浆者游，公子妄人耳。”夫人以告公子。公子乃谢夫人去，曰：“始吾闻平原君贤，故负魏王而救

【今译】

傲，以为有功，我私下认为公子不该这样。”于是公子马上责备自己，好像无地容身似的。赵王扫了台阶，亲自迎接，用主人的礼节，领着公子到西阶。公子侧行谦让，从东阶上去。自称有罪过，有负于魏国，对赵国无功。赵王陪着饮酒直到晚上，不忍心提出献给五座城的事，因为公子很谦让自责。公子终于留在了赵国。赵王把鄯邑作为公子的封邑，魏国也又把信陵邑送给了公子。公子留居赵国。

公子听说赵国有两个处士，毛公隐藏在赌博的人当中，薛公隐藏在卖酒的人当中，公子想会见这两个人，两个人躲起来不肯见公子。公子听说了他们住的地方，就偷偷走去，跟这两个人交游，很高兴。平原君听说此事，对他的夫人说：“当初我听说夫人的弟弟魏公子是天下无双的贤人，现在我听说他却胡乱地和赌博的人、卖酒的人交游，公子是个荒唐的人啊。”夫人把这话告诉公子。公子就向夫人告辞要离开，说：“当初我听说平原君贤能，



loyal to Wei. This is not an achievement of which to be too proud."

Lord Xinling at once admitted his mistake, ready to sink into the ground for shame. The king of Zhao swept the path himself to welcome him into the palace by the west steps,³ but Lord Xinling declined and went up by the east steps instead, saying that he was guilty of injuring his own country while doing little for Zhao. The king of Zhao entertained him with wine till the evening, but in view of his humility did not mention the gift of five cities. Lord Xinling stayed on, however, in Zhao, where he was given the district of Hao. The king of Wei also kept Xinling for him.

During Lord Xinling's stay in Zhao he heard tell of a retired gentleman named Mao who lived in obscurity among gamblers, and another named Xue who lived among porridge-venders. When he tried to meet them they concealed themselves, but eventually he discovered where they lodged, called on them and started enjoying their company.

This came to the ears of Lord Pingyuan, who told his wife, "I had heard that your brother was a man of unmatched qualities, but now they tell me he is wasting his time with gamblers and porridge-venders. He must be a fool after all!"

When his sister told this to Lord Xiling, he said he must leave them, explaining, "Under the impression that Lord Pingyuan was a great man, I wronged the king of Wei to rescue Zhao for his sake. But apparently



【原文】

赵，以称平原君。平原君之游，徒豪举耳，不求士也。无忌自在大梁时，尝闻此两人贤，至赵，恐不得见。以无忌从之游，尚恐其不我欲也，今平原君乃以为羞。其不足从游！”乃装为去。夫人具以语平原君。平原君乃免冠谢，固留公子。平原君门下闻之，半去平原君归公子。天下士复往归公子，公子倾平原君客。

公子留赵十年不归。秦闻公子在赵，日夜出兵东伐魏。魏王患之，使使往请公子。公子恐其怒之，乃诫门下：“有敢为魏王使通者，死。”宾客皆背魏之赵，莫敢劝公子归。毛公、薛公两人往见公子曰：“公子所以重于赵，名闻诸侯者，徒以有魏也。今秦攻

【今译】

所以背弃魏王来救援赵国，以便对得起平原君。平原君与人的交游，只是为了显示他豪放的举动罢了，不是求士人。我自己在大梁的时候，常听说这两个人贤能，到了赵国，惟恐见不着。让我跟他们交游，还恐怕他们不想接纳我，现在平原君却以此为羞耻。他不值得我跟他交游！”就整装待发。夫人把这些话全部告诉了平原君。平原君这才脱了帽子道歉，一定要留住公子。平原君的门下客人听说此事，有一半离开了平原君归附公子，天下的士人又去归附公子，公子的门客人数超过了平原君的门客。

公子留在赵国十年没有回去。秦国听说公子在赵国，就日夜出兵东伐魏国。魏王担心此事，派使臣去请公子。公子害怕魏王恼恨他，就告诫门下客：“有敢替魏王使臣传达的，处死。”宾客们都是背弃魏国到赵国的，没有敢劝公子回去的。毛公、薛公两人前往会见公子说：“公子被赵国敬重，名闻诸侯的原因，只是因为有魏国。现在秦国攻打魏国，魏国危急，可是公子却不体恤，



he is gathering followers merely to impress the world, not to find talented men. While still in Daliang I heard of the excellence of these two good men, and my one fear after coming here was that I might not meet them — I was afraid they would think me beneath them. If Lord Pingyuan considers that disgraceful, his company can hardly be worth having.”

He was packing up to leave when his sister repeated this to Lord Pingyuan, who took off his hat and apologized, begging his brother-in-law to remain. When word of this reached Lord Pingyuan’s protégés, half of them left him and joined Lord Xinling. Other gentlemen from near and far also sought his patronage, and eventually he won the allegiance of virtually all Lord Pingyuan’s followers.

Lord Xinling remained for ten years in Zhao, during which time Qin took advantage of his absence to send many expeditions eastward to attack Wei. At last the king of Wei, in desperation, dispatched envoys to beg his half-brother to return. But Lord Xinling, afraid that the king still bore him a grudge, warned his followers that any man who dared to deliver a message from Wei would be killed. All his protégés then left Wei and came to Zhao, and no one ventured to speak to him of returning. One day, however, his two friends Mao and Xue called to see him.

“You are highly regarded in Zhao and your fame is known to all the feudal lords solely because of Wei’s existence,” they told him. “Now



【原文】

魏，魏急而公子不恤，使秦破大梁而夷先王之宗庙，公子当何面目立天下乎？”语未及卒，公子立变色，告车趣驾归救魏。

魏王见公子，相与泣，而以上将军印授公子，公子遂将。魏安釐王三十年，公子使使遍告诸侯。诸侯闻公子将，各遣将将兵救魏。公子率五国之兵破秦军于河外，走蒙骜。遂乘胜逐秦军至函谷关，抑秦兵，秦兵不敢出。当是时，公子威振天下，诸侯之客进兵法，公子皆名之，故世俗称《魏公子兵法》。

秦王患之，乃行金万斤于魏，求晋鄙客，令毁公子于魏王曰：“公子亡在外十年矣，今为魏将，诸侯将皆属，诸侯徒闻魏公子，不闻魏王。公子亦欲因此时定南面而王，诸侯畏公子之威，

【今译】

假使秦国攻破大梁而夷平了先王的宗庙，公子有什么脸面立于天下呢？”话还没有说完，公子马上变了脸色，吩咐车夫赶快驱车回救魏国。

魏王会见了公子，相对哭泣，把上将军印授给了公子，于是公子就任统帅。魏安釐王三十年（公元前247年），公子派使臣遍告各诸侯国。诸侯听说公子领兵，各自派遣大将领兵救援魏国。公子率领五国军队在河外打败秦军，赶走了蒙骜。就乘胜把秦军赶到了函谷关，抑制了秦兵，秦兵不敢出战。在这时，公子威震天下，从诸侯国来的门客进献的兵法，公子都给它们题了名，因此世上称作《魏公子兵法》。

秦王担心此事，就用一万斤黄金到魏国行贿，求见晋鄙的门客，让他们在魏王面前毁谤说：“公子逃亡在外十年了，现在是魏国上将，诸侯都将归属于他，诸侯只听说魏公子，不知道魏王。公子也想乘此时平定南面称王，诸侯畏惧公子的威势，正想共同



Qin is attacking Wei, yet you appear quite unmoved by your country's danger. Suppose Qin takes Daliang by storm and razes your ancestral temples, how will you be able to face the world again?"

Lord Xinling turned pale before they had finished speaking. Calling for his carriage, he raced back to the aid of his country. At his meeting with the king of Wei they both wept, and he was appointed as high marshal.

In the thirtieth year of King An Xi, Lord Xinling sent envoys to all the states, and when they knew that he was Wei's commander-in-chief they dispatched troops to his aid. Then at the head of the troops from five states he routed Qin's army south of the Yellow River, put General Meng Ao to flight and drove the enemy into the Hangu Pass, striking such fear into the men of Qin that they dared not sally forth again. His military prowess shook the world, and wise men from various states sent him stratagems which he compiled in one volume under his name. This collection is generally known as *Lord Xinling on the Art of War*.

In great alarm, the king of Qin bribed a former follower of Jin Bi with ten thousand catties of gold to slander Lord Xinling.

"Lord Xinling has been away for ten years," this man told the king of Wei. "Yet now he commands not only our troops but the forces of other states, whose rulers have heard of Lord Xinling but not of the king of Wei. If he aspires to seize the throne, the other states which fear his might will support him."

【原文】

方欲共立之。”秦数使反间，伪贺公子得立为魏王未也。魏王日闻其毁，不能不信，后果使人代公子将。公子自知再以毁废，乃谢病不朝，与宾客为长夜饮，饮醇酒，多近妇女。日夜为乐饮者四岁，竟病酒而卒。其岁，魏安釐王亦薨。

秦闻公子死，使蒙骃攻魏，拔二十城，初置东郡。其后秦稍蚕食魏，十八岁而虏魏王，屠大梁。

高祖始微少时，数闻公子贤。及即天子位，每过大梁，常祠公子。高祖十二年，从击黥布还，为公子置守冢五家，世世岁以四时奉祠公子。

【今译】

拥立他。”秦国多次使用反间计，假装祝贺公子，问能立为王没有。魏王每天听到这些毁谤，不能不信，后来果然派人代替公子领兵。公子知道自己再次遭到毁谤，就托病辞职，不来朝见，和宾客通宵达旦饮烈酒作乐，又过分喜好女色。这样日夜取乐饮酒四年，终于因饮酒过量致病而去世。这一年，魏安釐王也去世了。

秦国听说公子死了，派蒙骃攻打魏国，攻下二十座城，开始设置东郡。这以后秦国逐渐地蚕食魏国，十八年后俘虏了魏王，屠灭了大梁。

高祖当初贫贱年轻的时候，多次听说公子的贤明。等到登上天子位后，每次路过大梁，经常祭祀公子。高祖十二年（公元前195年），从攻打黥布回来，替公子安排了五户人家守坟，世世代代每年四季祭祠公子。





Envoys were also sent from Qin to alienate Lord Xinling from the king of Wei by offering him congratulations and inquiring whether he had yet ascended the throne. At last the king, who could not but believe the slander he heard daily, sent another general to take over the command. Then Lord Xinling, aware of why he had been removed, absented himself from court on the pretext of illness and spent all his time drinking strong wine with his friends or enjoying himself with women. After four years of continuous carousing, he drank himself to death. King An Xi died the same year.

When word of Lord Xinling's death reached Qin, Meng Ao attacked Wei again and took twenty towns, which became Qin's Eastern Province. Qin went on nibbling at Wei's territory, and eighteen years later captured the king of Wei and massacred the inhabitants of Daliang.

During his youth our first emperor heard so much of the exploits of Lord Xinling that, after becoming emperor, he sacrificed at Lord Xinling's shrine whenever he passed through Daliang. In the twelfth year of his reign, returning from a punitive expedition against Ying Bu, he appointed five families to act as guardians of Lord Xinling's tomb. Since then seasonal sacrifice has been offered to Lord Xinling four times a year.

【原文】

太史公曰：吾过大梁之墟，求问其所谓夷门。夷门者，城之东门也。天下诸公子亦有喜士者矣，然信陵君之接岩穴隐者，不耻下交，有以也。名冠诸侯，不虚耳。高祖每过之而令民奉祠不绝也。

【今译】

太史公说：我路过大梁城的废墟，向当地人请教所说的夷门。夷门，是大梁城的东门。天下各公子也有喜欢士人的，但是信陵君接近山门隐士，不以与比自己低下的人交游为耻，是有道理的。他的名望超过了各国君主，不是没有根据的。高祖每当路过这里就命令百姓祭祀他，没有断过。





The Grand Historian comments: When I visited the ruins of Daliang, I asked the whereabouts of Yi Gate and learned that it was the east gate. Other noble lords enjoyed having protégés too, but Lord Xinling even sought out recluse in mountain caves and no one, however humble, was beneath his notice. Little wonder, then, that his fame spread among the states and that our first emperor, when passing his shrine, decreed that sacrifices should be offered to him for ever.

¹ 257 B.C.

² A city on the border between Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) and Zhao.

³ The west steps were for guests of honour.



范睢蔡泽列传

【原文】

范睢者，魏人也，字叔。游说诸侯，欲事魏王，家贫无以自资，乃先事魏中大夫须贾。

须贾为魏昭王使于齐，范睢从。留数月，未得报。齐襄王闻睢辩口，乃使人赐睢金十斤，及牛酒。睢辞谢不敢受。须贾知之，大怒，以为睢持魏国阴事告齐，故得此馈，令睢受其牛酒，还其金。既归，心怒睢，以告魏相。魏相，魏之诸公子，曰魏齐。魏齐大怒，使舍人笞击睢，折胁摺齿。睢佯死，即卷以簀，置厕中。宾客饮者醉，更溺睢，故僇辱惩后，令无妄言者。睢从

【今译】

范睢，是魏国人，字叔。游说各国，想事奉魏王，家庭贫穷不能自己供给自己，就先服事魏国中大夫须贾。

须贾替魏昭王出使齐国，范睢跟随前去。停留了几个月，没有得到答复。齐襄王听说范睢有辩论的口才，就派人赐给范睢黄金十斤以及牛肉美酒，范睢辞让不敢接受。须贾知道了，非常恼怒，以为范睢把魏国的隐秘大事告诉了齐国，所以才得到这些馈赠，让范睢接受了牛肉美酒，退还了黄金。回来以后，须贾心里恼怒范睢，把这件事报告了魏国宰相。魏国宰相，是魏国的公子之一，叫魏齐。魏齐非常恼怒，派家臣拷打范睢，打断了肋骨、打掉了牙。范睢装死，就把他用苇席卷起来，扔到厕所中。宾客们喝醉了，交替往范睢身上小便，故意侮辱他，以此惩戒后人，使没有敢胡说的人。范睢从苇席中对看守的人说：“您能放出我，



Fan Sui and Cai Ze

Fan Sui was a native of Wei (403 B.C.-225 B.C.) whose courtesy name was Shu. After roaming through different states as an orator he wanted to serve King Zhao of Wei, but being too poor to buy himself a post he first worked for the palace adviser Xu Jia and accompanied him when he went as Wei's envoy to Qi. They remained there for several months without concluding any agreement.

Then King Xiang of Qi, having heard that Fan Sui was an orator, sent him ten catties of gold, some beef and some wine, which Fan Sui dared not accept. When Xu Jia learned this he was very angry, imagining that Fan Sui had divulged state secrets. He told him to accept the beef and wine but refuse the gold.

On their return to Wei, Xu Jia, still highly incensed, reported the matter to Wei Qi, the prime minister and a member of the royal house, who in his rage made his stewards beat Fan Sui till his ribs were broken and his teeth knocked out. Then Fan Sui, pretending to be dead, was wrapped in a mat and thrown into the privy. And the guests who were tipsy took turns to urinate on him, meaning by this shameful treatment to make him a warning to others to avoid careless talk.

From inside the mat Fan Sui begged the guard, "Get me out and

【原文】

箒中谓守者曰：“公能出我，我必厚谢公！”守者乃请出弃箒中死人。魏齐醉，曰：“可矣。”范雎得出。后魏齐悔，复召求之。魏人郑安平闻之，乃遂操范雎亡，伏匿，更名姓曰张禄。

当此时，秦昭王使谒者王稽于魏。郑安平诈为卒，侍王稽。王稽问：“魏有贤人可与俱西游者乎？”郑安平曰：“臣里中有张禄先生，欲见君，言天下事。其人有仇，不敢昼见。”王稽曰：“夜与俱来。”郑安平夜与张禄见王稽。语未究，王稽知范雎贤，谓曰：“先生待我于三亭之南。”与私约而去。

王稽辞魏去，过载范雎入秦。至湖，望见车骑从西来。范雎曰：“彼来者为谁？”王稽曰：“秦相穰侯东行县邑。”范雎曰：“吾

【今译】

我一定重谢您。”看守的人就请求出去扔了苇席中的死人。魏齐醉了，说：“可以。”范雎才得以出来。后来魏齐后悔了，又叫人寻找他。魏国人郑安平听说此事，就带着范雎逃跑了，躲躲藏藏，范雎改姓名叫张禄。

在这时，秦昭王派谒者王稽出使到魏国。郑安平假装成卫兵，侍奉王稽。王稽问道：“魏国有贤能的人能和我一起西游的吗？”郑安平说：“我同乡中有个张禄先生，想求见您，谈论天下大事。这个人有仇人，不敢白天露面。”王稽说：“夜里和您一起来。”郑安平夜里和张禄拜见了王稽。话没有说完，王稽知道了范雎的贤明，对他说：“先生在三亭的南面等着我。”和他私约以后才离开。

王稽告辞魏国离开，路过三亭就载着范雎进入秦国。到了湖地，看到车马从西过来。范雎说：“那边来的人是谁？”王稽说：“秦国宰相穰侯到东边巡视县邑。”范雎说：“我听说穰侯独揽秦





I will repay you handsomely!" The guard asked permission to throw out the corpse in the mat, and Wei Qi who was drunk consented. So Fan Sui escaped. On second thoughts, Wei Qi sent to arrest him again. Zheng Anping of Wei, hearing this, carried the fugitive off and Fan Sui went into hiding, changing his name to Zhang Lu.

Just at this time King Zhao of Qin sent Wang Ji, his master of ceremony, to Wei. Zheng Anping, disguised as a soldier, waited on him.

"Are there any men of talent in Wei who would come west with me?" inquired Wang Ji.

"In my lane lives a Master Zhang Lu who would like to meet you to discuss world affairs," replied Zheng. "Because he has an enemy, he dare not call on you by day."

"Bring him tonight," said Wang Ji.

So that night Zheng Anping took Fan Sui to see Wang Ji. They did not converse at great length, but Wang Ji gauging Fan Sui's worth arranged to meet him south of Santing, and on this understanding they parted. When Wang Ji left Wei, he took Fan Sui with him in his carriage to Qin. At Huguan, they saw chariots and horsemen approaching from the west.

Fan Sui asked, "Who is that coming?"

"Marquis Rang, the prime minister of Qin," said Wang Ji. "He is travelling east on a tour of inspection."

"I have heard that Marquis Rang has absolute power in Qin and

【原文】

闻穰侯专秦权，恶内诸侯客，此恐辱我，我宁且匿车中。”有顷，穰侯果至，劳王稽，因立车而语曰：“关东有何变？”曰：“无有。”又谓王稽曰：“谒君得无与诸侯客子俱来乎？无益，徒乱人国耳。”王稽曰：“不敢。”即别去。范雎曰：“吾闻穰侯智士也，其见事迟，乡者疑车中有人，忘索之。”于是范雎下车走，曰：“此必悔之。”行十余里，果使骑还索车中，无客，乃已。王稽遂与范雎入咸阳。

已报使，因言曰：“魏有张禄先生，天下辩士也。曰‘秦王之国危于累卵，得臣则安。然不可以书传也。’臣故载来。”秦王弗信，使舍食草具。待命岁余。

【今译】

国大权，讨厌接纳各国的说客，恐怕他会侮辱我，我宁可暂躲在车中。”过了一会儿，穰侯果然到了，慰劳了王稽，就停下车子说：“关东有什么变化？”王稽说：“没有。”穰侯又对王稽说：“谒者没有和诸侯的说客一起来吧？这种人没有用处，只会把别的国家搞乱罢了。”王稽说：“不敢。”就告别离开。范雎说：“我听说穰侯是聪明人，只是他看问题慢，刚才他怀疑车中有人，但忘了搜索。”于是范雎下车行走，说：“这人一定后悔。”走了十多里，穰侯果然派人返回搜索车中，没有说客，这才罢休。王稽就和范雎进入了咸阳。

王稽已经报告了出使情况，乘机说道：“魏国有个张禄先生，是天下的辩士。他说‘秦王的国家危如累卵，能够用我就能安全。然而不能用书信传授’。我因此载了他来。”秦王不相信，让范雎住在客舍，吃粗劣的饭菜。范雎待命了一年多。



dislikes all visitors from outside,” said Fan Sui. “I do not want to be insulted, so I had better hide in the carriage.”

A little later the marquis did in fact come up and stop to greet Wang Ji.

“What news is there from east of the Passes?” he asked.

“No news,” said Wang Ji.

“Have you brought anyone back from the eastern states? Those men are no good: they only stir up trouble.”

“I wouldn’t even think of it,” replied Wang Ji.

Then the marquis went on his way.

Fan Sui said, “I have heard that the marquis is shrewd but slow in the uptake. He suspected that there was someone in your carriage, but it didn’t occur to him to make a search.” With that he alighted, explaining, “He is bound to think better of it.”

And sure enough, after driving ten *li* or more, the marquis sent horsemen back to search the carriage. When they could not find anyone that was the end of the matter. Wang Ji and Fan Sui proceeded to Xianyang.

The report on his mission made, Wang Ji told the king, “Master Zhang Lu of Wei is a great orator. He says that your kingdom is in greater peril than eggs placed one on top of the other. He has a plan to make it safe, but since he would not put this down in writing I have brought him back with me.”

The king did not believe this, however. He had Fan Sui fed a very poor diet and lodged in one of the humblest hostels, where he stayed for a year and more.

【原文】

当是时，昭王已立三十六年。南拔楚之鄢、郢，楚怀王幽死于秦。秦东破齐。湣王尝称帝，后去之。数困三晋。厌天下辩士，无所信。

穰侯，华阳君，昭王母宣太后之弟也；而泾阳君、高陵君皆昭王同母弟也。穰侯相，三人者更将，有封邑。以太后故，私家富重于王室。及穰侯为秦将，且欲越韩、魏而伐齐纲寿，欲以广其陶封。范雎乃上书曰：

臣闻明王立政，有功者不得不赏，有能者不得不官，劳大者其禄厚，功多者其爵尊，能治众者其官大。故无能者不敢当职焉，有能者亦不得蔽隐。使以臣之言为可，愿行而益利其

【今译】

在这时候，昭王已经即位三十六年了。向南打下了楚国的鄢城、郢都，楚怀王被幽禁，死在秦国。秦国向东攻破齐国。齐湣王曾经称帝，后来取消了。秦国多次围困三晋。昭王讨厌天下的辩士，不相信他们。

穰侯，即华阳君，是昭王母亲宣太后的弟弟；泾阳君、高陵君都是昭王的同母弟弟。穰侯担任宰相，三个人交替当将军，有封地，因为太后的缘故，他们私人财富超过了王室。等到穰侯作秦国将军，将要越过韩国、魏国攻打齐国的纲寿，想以此扩大他在陶邑的封地。范雎就上书说：

我听说圣明的君主建立政令，有功的人不能不赏，有才能的人不能不给他官职，功劳大的人，他的俸禄优厚，功劳多的人，他的爵位尊贵，能够管理众人的，他的官职大。所以没有才能的人不敢担当官职，有能力的人也不能被埋没。假如认为我的话可行，希望您施行，则更加有利于治国之道；认为我的





By now,¹ King Zhao of Qin had reigned for thirty-six years. He had won Yan and Ying from Chu in the south, holding King Huai of Chu prisoner in Qin till he died. He had moreover defeated Qi in the east, so that King Min of Qi renounced the title of emperor which he had taken. Qin had also repeatedly worsted Han (403B.C.-230B.C.), Zhao and Wei. But the king disliked orators and had no faith in them.

Marquis Rang and Lord Huayang were younger brothers of King Zhao's mother, Queen Dowager Xuan. Lord Jingyang and Lord Gaoling were his own younger brothers. While the marquis was prime minister, the three lords served in turn as commander and received fiefs. Thanks to the favour of the queen dowager, they had larger fortunes than the king himself. And Marquis Rang, now commander-in-chief, was planning to cross Han and Wei to attack Gangshou in Qi, in order to enlarge his fief at Tao.

Then Fan Sui wrote this memorial to the king: "I have heard that under an enlightened ruler men of merit must be rewarded and men of ability appointed to office; the heavier the responsibility the larger the emolument, and the greater the merit the nobler the rank; thus one capable of governing the masses should hold the highest office. For then those of no ability will not dare to aspire to position, while the able will not go unnoticed. If you approve my words, sir, I hope you will put them into practice to the greatest possible advantage. If you

【原文】

道；以臣之言为不可，久留臣无为也。语曰：“庸主赏所爱而罚所恶；明主则不然，赏必加于有功，而刑必断于有罪。”今臣之胸不足以当椹质，而要不足以待斧钺，岂敢以疑事尝试于王哉！虽以臣为贱人而轻辱，独不重任臣者之无反复于王邪？

且臣闻周有砥砮，宋有结绿，梁有县藜，楚有和朴，此四宝者，土之所生，良工之所失也，而为天下名器。然则圣王之所弃者，独不足以厚国家乎？

臣闻善厚家者取之于国，善厚国者取之于诸侯。天下有明主则诸侯不得擅厚者，何也？为其割荣也。良医知病人之死生，而圣主明于成败之事，利则行之，害则舍之，疑则少尝

【今译】

话不可行，久久留住我也没有作用。常言说：“昏庸的国君赏赐他所喜爱的人，惩罚他所讨厌的人；明智的君主却不这样，赏赐一定加给有功的，刑罚一定判给有罪的人。”现在我的胸膛不能够挡住砧板，我的腰不能够顶住斧钺，怎么敢用捉摸不定的事情向大王尝试呢！即使认为我是贫贱的人而轻视侮辱我，难道就不重视推荐我的人对大王是否忠诚吗？

况且我听说周朝有砥砮，宋国有结绿，梁国有县藜，楚国是和氏璞玉，这四种珍宝，都是土里生产的，好工匠所丢弃的，却是天下的著名器物。那么圣明的君王所丢弃的人，难道不足以使国家有利吗？

我听说善于使家丰厚的是从国家取得财富，善于使国家丰厚的是从所辖封国取得财富。天下有圣明的君主，则诸侯不能独自丰厚，为什么呢？因为他们要分割利益。好医生知道病人的生死，圣明的君主明白成败的事情，有利就施行，有害就放





disagree with them, then no purpose is served by keeping me here.

"There is a saying, 'A foolish monarch rewards those he loves and punishes those he hates; but a wise monarch rewards only the deserving and punishes only those who do wrong.' Since I have no wish to lay myself on the chopping-block or to be cut in two, how dare I court punishment by questionable statements? You may despise my humble condition, but you should respect the man who recommended me and trust his loyalty. I have heard that Zhou, Song, Liang and Chu have four famous pieces of jade: the *di'e*, *jielü*, *xianli* and *hepu*. These, when quarried, were ignored by skilled jade-carvers, but now these treasures are known far and wide. In the same way, a man rejected by a wise sovereign may still be able to render great service to the state.

"I have heard that those skilled in enriching their families do so at the expense of the state, whereas those skilled in enriching the state do so at the expense of other states. When there is a wise sovereign the feudal lords will not arrogate power to themselves, for that would be encroaching on his sovereignty. A good physician can tell whether a patient will live or die; a sagacious sovereign knows whether enterprises will succeed or fail. He undertakes those that are advantageous, abandons those that are harmful, and tries out on a small scale those

【原文】

之，虽舜、禹复生，弗能改已。语之至者，臣不敢载之于书，其浅者，又不足听也。意者臣愚而不概于王心邪？亡其言臣者贱而不可用乎？自非然者，臣愿得少赐游观之间，望见颜色，一语无效，请伏斧质。

于是秦昭王大说，乃谢王稽，使以传车召范雎。

于是范雎乃得见于离宫，详为不知永巷而入其中。王来而宦者怒，逐之，曰：“王至！”范雎缪为曰：“秦安得王？秦独有太后、穰侯耳。”欲以感怒昭王。昭王至，闻其与宦者争言，遂延迎，谢曰：“寡人宜以身受命久矣，会义渠之事急，寡人旦暮自请太后；

【今译】

弃，拿不准就稍微尝试一下，即使虞舜和夏禹再生，不能更改这种态度。最深切的话我不敢写在这书面上，浅陋的话又不值得听从。想来由于我的愚蠢没有感动大王的心吧？或者轻蔑推荐我的人地位卑下而不能听用我呢？如果不是这样，我希望把您游览观赏的空闲时间多少给我一点，让我瞻仰大王的容颜。如果有一句话没用，甘受死刑。

当时，秦昭王非常高兴，就向王稽道歉，派人用驿站的车子召见范雎。

于是范雎才能在行宫受到秦昭王的接见，他假装不知道永巷是后宫的通道，就钻了进去。秦王来了，宦官发怒，驱赶他说：“大王到了！”范雎胡乱说道：“秦国哪里有王？秦国只有太后、穰侯罢了。”想以此震动激怒昭王。昭王来到，听说他和宦官争吵，就前去迎接，道歉说：“寡人早应该亲身领教，正巧义渠的事情紧急，寡人每天早晚都要亲自请示太后；现在义渠的事情结束





whose outcomes are doubtful. Even the great Yu and Shun, were they alive today, could do no more. I dare not commit my inmost thoughts to writing and my more trivial proposals are hardly worth your hearing. Perhaps your idea is that one as stupid as myself can have nothing to interest you. It cannot be that the man who recommended me is too low to deserve your trust. If he is not too low, I crave the favour of an audience when you are at leisure. If my words prove worthless, I beg to be cut in two!"

King Zhao was very pleased with this letter. He expressed his approval to Wang Ji and sent a carriage to summon Fan Sui to his presence.

Fan Sui, granted an audience in the country palace, pretended to have lost his way and blundered in as if by mistake. At the king's approach, the angry eunuchs tried to drive Fan Sui away, crying, "Here comes the king!"

"King? What king has Qin?" retorted Fan Sui hotly, deliberately trying to provoke the king. "Qin has only the queen dowager and Marquis Rang."

King Zhao heard this altercation with the eunuchs as he was close by and invited Fan Sui over to apologize to him. "I ought to have received your instructions long ago," he said. "But the situation in Yiqu was so grave that I was consulting the queen dowager day and night.

【原文】

今义渠之事已，寡人乃得受命。窃闵然不敏，敬执宾主之礼。”范睢辞让。是日观范睢之见者，群臣莫不洒然变色易容者。

秦王屏左右，宫中虚无人。秦王跽而请曰：“先生何以幸教寡人？”范睢曰：“唯，唯。”有间，秦王复跽而请曰：“先生何以幸教寡人？”范睢曰：“唯，唯。”若是者三。秦王跽曰，“先生卒不幸教寡人邪？”范睢曰：“非敢然也。臣闻昔者吕尚之遇文王也，身为渔父而钓于渭滨耳。若是者，交疏也。已说而立为太师，载与俱归者，其言深也。故文王遂收功于吕尚，而卒王天下。乡使文王疏吕尚而不与深言，是周无天子之德，而文、武无与成其王业也。今臣羁旅之臣也，交疏于王，而所愿陈者皆匡君之事，处人骨肉之

【今译】

了，寡人才能向您领教。我昏聩不机敏，恭敬地向您行宾主的礼节。”范睢推辞谦让。这天看到范睢被召见情况的，群臣没有不肃然起敬变了脸色的。

秦王屏退左右，宫中空无一人。秦王长跪请求说：“我有幸受到先生的哪些指教呢？”范睢说：“是，是。”过了一会儿，秦王又长跪请问道：“我有幸受到先生的哪些指教呢？”范睢说：“是，是。”像这样有三次。秦王长跪说：“先生终究不肯指教寡人吗？”范睢说：“不敢这样。我听说从前吕尚遇到周文王的时候，他只是个渔夫，在渭水边钓鱼罢了。是如此交往不深。周文王与吕尚交谈后很高兴就立他为太师，载着他一起回去，是因为他的话深刻啊。所以文王终于得力于吕尚并且终于拥有了天下。如果以前周文王疏远吕尚，不和他深谈，这样周朝没有天子的德行，文王、武王也不能一起成就王业。现在我是旅居外国的百姓，交情和大王疏远，可是我想陈述的都是匡扶国君的大事，处在别人





Now that this trouble is settled I would like to entertain you as my guest, although I am conscious of my lack of wisdom."

Fan Sui made a courteous reply, while the ministers looked on with expressions of awe.

The king dismissed his attendants and, when they were alone, straightened up² to ask, "What instructions have you for me?"

"I am at your service, sir," Fan Sui replied.

Presently the king straightened up to ask again, "What instructions have you for me?"

Once more Fan Sui replied, "I am at your service."

When this had happened three times, the king straightened up to inquire, "Are you unwilling to instruct me, then?"

"How dare I refuse?" replied Fan Sui. "But I have heard that Lü Shang, when he first met King Wen, was a fisherman by the River Wei. Despite the great difference in standing between them, Lü's conversation so pleased the king that he made him the grand preceptor and took him back in the royal carriage. This was because he spoke out frankly. Thanks to Lü Shang, King Wen succeeded in ruling the world. If the king had made Lü Shang keep his distance and not spoken frankly with him, the House of Zhou would never have conquered the world, nor would Wen and Wu have succeeded in their kingly task.

"I am a native of another state and far below Your Majesty; moreover, what I have to say concerns your government and your

【原文】

间，愿效愚忠而未知王之心也。此所以王三问而不敢对者也。臣非有畏而不敢言也，臣知今日言之于前，而明日伏诛于后，然臣不敢避也。大王信行臣之言，死不足以为臣患，亡不足以为臣忧，漆身为厉，被发为狂，不足以为臣耻。且以五帝之圣焉而死，三王之仁焉而死，五伯之贤焉而死，乌获、任鄙之力焉而死，成荆、孟贲、王庆忌、夏育之勇焉而死。死，人之所必不免也。处必然之势，可以少有补于秦，此臣之所大愿也，臣又何患哉！伍子胥橐载而出昭关，夜行昼伏，至于陵水，无以糊其口，膝行蒲伏，稽首肉袒，鼓腹吹篪，乞食于吴市，卒兴吴国，阖闾为伯。使臣得尽谋如伍子胥，加之以幽囚，终身不复见，是臣之说行也，臣又何忧？箕子、

【今译】

骨肉之间，我希望献出愚忠，可是不知道大王的心思。这就是大王问三次而我不敢回答的原因。我不是害怕不敢说，我知道今天说这些在前，明天会受死刑在后，可是我不敢逃避。大王如果真的施用我的言论，死不足以成为我的忧患，流亡不足以使我愁苦，被漆涂身变成癞子，披散着头发变成疯子，不足以使我感到羞耻。况且像五帝那样圣明也死了，三王那样仁义也死了，五霸那样贤良也死了，乌获、任鄙那样有力也死了，成荆、孟贲、吴王庆忌、夏育那样勇敢也死了。死，是人们一定免不了的。处在必然如此的情况下，能够稍微对秦国有些帮助，这就是我最大的希望，我又担心什么呢！伍子胥被用袋子装着出了昭关，夜行昼伏，到了陵水，无以糊口，用膝盖爬行，磕着头，露出肉，鼓着肚子吹篪，在吴国市场上乞讨，终于振兴了吴国，让阖闾作了霸主。假如我能像伍子胥那样出尽计谋，然后加以囚禁，终身不再见人，这也是我的话施行了，我又担忧什么呢？箕子、接舆被漆了





own flesh and blood. I wish to show my humble loyalty but do not know your will, sir. That is why I dared not reply to your three questions. It is not fear of any man that keeps me silent. I know that for what I say today I may lose my head tomorrow, but this does not deter me. If you, great king, listen to my advice and adopt it, neither death nor banishment can dismay me, nor should I count it a disgrace to lacquer my body and bring it out in sores or go about with dishevelled hair like a madman.

"All men must die, even sages like the Five Sovereigns, paragons of virtue like the Three Kings, able princes like the Five Conquerors, powerful men like Wu Huo and Ren Bi, and brave fellows like Cheng Jing, Meng Pen, Prince Qingji and Xia Yu. No man, then, can escape death. I ask nothing more than to submit to my fate, if by so doing I can be of some slight service to Qin. So I have no qualms.

"Wu Zixu escaped in a sack through the Zhao Pass and travelled by night, hiding himself by day, till he reached the River Ling. Having nothing to eat, he crawled along with bare shoulders, kowtowing and drumming on his belly or playing on a flute to beg for food in the market. Yet finally he made Wu a great power and King Helü a great conqueror. If like Wu Zixu I could see my plans adopted, although I were imprisoned in a dark dungeon never to look upon your face again, I should have no regret. Ji Zi and Jie Yu lacquered their bodies to

【原文】

接輿漆身为厉，被发为狂，无益于主。假使臣得同行于箕子，可以有补于所贤之主，是臣之大荣也，臣有何耻？臣之所恐者，独恐臣死之后，天下见臣之尽忠而身死，因以是杜口裹足，莫肯乡秦耳。足下上畏太后之严，下惑于奸臣之态，居深宫之中，不离阿保之手，终身迷惑，无与昭奸。大者宗庙灭覆，小者身以孤危，此臣之所恐耳。若夫穷辱之事，死亡之患，臣不敢畏也。臣死而秦治，是臣死贤于生。”秦王跽曰：“先生是何言也！夫秦国辟远，寡人愚不肖，先生乃幸辱至于此，是天以寡人愚先生而存先王之宗庙也。寡人得受命于先生，是天所以幸先王，而不弃其孤也。先生奈何而言若是！事无小大，上及太后，下至大臣，愿先生悉以教寡人，无疑

【今译】

身子成为癞子，披散着头发成了疯子，可是他们对君主却没有好处。假如我的遭遇和箕子能够相同，但是可以对贤明的君主有所帮助，这是我最大的光荣，我有什么羞耻？我所担心的，只是害怕我死了以后，天下看到我尽忠身死，就从此闭口止步，不肯投向秦国罢了。您上畏惧太后的威严，下被奸臣的态度所迷惑，住在深宫之中，离不开保姆的手，终身迷惑，不能明察奸佞。大则国家覆灭，小则自己孤单危险，这是我所担心的。那些穷困侮辱的事情，死亡流放的忧虑，是我不会畏惧的。我死了而秦国太平，这是我死胜于生。”秦王长跪着说：“先生这是说什么话！秦国偏僻荒远，寡人愚蠢不才，先生却委屈地到这地方，这是上天让寡人打扰先生来保存先王的宗庙。寡人能够向先生领教，这是上天宠幸先王，不抛弃他的后代啊。先生怎么说出像这样的话！事情无论大小，上及太后，下至大臣，希望先生全部指教寡人，不要怀





bring them out in sores and went about with tousled hair like madmen, yet they could not assist their sovereign. If by imitating Ji Zi I could be of service to a worthy sovereign, I should count this no shame at all but a great honour. My one fear is that if I am killed for my loyalty, my death will make men keep their mouths shut, halt their steps and turn away from Qin.

"Above, you fear to offend the queen mother, below, you are influenced by evil ministers. Spending all your time in the palace surrounded by guards, you are kept in ignorance and cannot see what is wrong. If things go badly, your line will be ended; at the very least, your own life is in danger. This is what I fear, not poverty, disgrace, death or banishment. If my death profits Qin, I would rather die than live."

The king fell on his knees protesting, "How can you suggest such a thing, sir! Qin is an outlying state and I am a worthless fool, but the fact that you have honoured us with your presence means that Heaven has sent you to me, unworthy as I am, to save my line. I am privileged to hear your instructions because Heaven looks kindly on my ancestors and will not abandon their descendant. Why, then, speak as you did? I beg you to instruct me on all matters, great and small, whether concerning the queen dowager or my ministers. Have no scruples, I entreat you!"

【原文】

寡人也。”范雎拜，秦王亦拜。

范雎曰：“大王之国，四塞以为固，北有甘泉、谷口，南带泾、渭，右陇、蜀，左关、阪，奋击百万，战车千乘，利则出攻，不利则入守，此王者之地也。民怯于私斗，而勇于公战，此王者之民也。王并此二者而有之。夫以秦卒之勇，车骑之众，以治诸侯，譬若施韩卢而搏蹇兔也，霸王之业可至也，而群臣莫当其位。至今闭关十五年，不敢窥兵于山东者，是穰侯为秦谋不忠，而大王之计有所失也。”秦王跽曰：“寡人愿闻失计。”

然左右多窃听者，范雎恐，未敢言内，先言外事，以观秦王之俯仰。因进曰：“夫穰侯越韩、魏而攻齐纲寿，非计也。少出师则

【今译】

疑寡人。”范雎下拜，秦王也下拜。

范雎说：“大王的国家，四周的要塞可以固守，北边有甘泉、谷口，南边有泾河、渭河围绕，右边有陇山、蜀山，左边有函谷关、崤山，奋力攻打的士兵上百万，战车上千乘，有利就出外进攻，不利就入关防守，这是建立帝王事业的基地。百姓害怕私斗却勇于为公而战，这是称王之人的百姓。大王兼有此二者。以秦兵的勇敢，车马的众多，来治服各诸侯国，好比用韩国的壮犬来斗跛脚兔子，霸王的事业可以到手，可是群臣都不称职。到现在闭关自守十五年，不敢用兵力窥探崤山以东各国的原因，这是穰侯替秦国出谋划策不够忠诚，并且大王的计策也有失误。”秦王长跪着说：“寡人想听听寡人的失策之处。”

可是左右有很多偷听的人，范雎害怕，未敢说国内的事，先谈论国外的事，以此观察秦王的态度。就走近说：“穰侯越过韩国、魏国攻打齐国的纲地、寿地，这不是好计策。少出军队不足





Then Fan Sui bowed and the king returned his bow.

"Your country has strong barriers on all sides, great king," said Fan Sui. "In the north are the Ganquan and Gukou Mountains, in the south the Jing and Wei Rivers, in the west the Long and Shu Mountains, in the east the Hangu Pass and Mount Yao. You have a million fighting men, a thousand war chariots. You can go out to attack when you see your chance and fall back on these to defend yourself if defeated; this is the land for a conqueror. Since your people do not engage in personal feuds but fight bravely for the state, they are the people for a conqueror. So you have the right land and the right people. With your brave soldiers and your host of chariots and horses, you can deal with other states as easily as a swift hound catches a limping hare. It is within your power to become a conqueror; but your ministers are not good enough. You have remained within the Pass fifteen years without showing your strength east of the mountains; this is because Marquis Rang has not served Qin loyally and your plans miss the point."

The king, straightening up, said, "Please tell me what is wrong with them."

Since many of the king's followers were eavesdropping, Fan Sui was afraid to speak of home affairs and spoke first of foreign policy, to sound the king out. So he moved closer to the king and said:

"Marquis Rang's plan to cross Han and Wei to attack Gangshou in Qi is not a good one. For a small force will be unable to inflict any

【原文】

不足以伤齐，多出师则害于秦。臣意王之计，欲少出师而悉韩、魏之兵也，则不义矣。今见与国之不亲也，越人之国而攻，可乎？其于计疏矣。且昔齐湣王南攻楚，破军杀将，再辟地千里，而齐尺寸之地无得焉者，岂不欲得地哉，形势不能有也。诸侯见齐之罢弊，君臣之不和也，兴兵而伐齐，大破之。士辱兵顿，皆咎其王曰，‘谁为此计者乎？’王曰：‘文子为之。’大臣作乱，文子出走。故齐所以大破者，以其伐楚而肥韩、魏也。此所谓借贼兵而赍盗粮者也。王不如远交而近攻，得寸则王之寸也；得尺亦王之尺也。今释此而远攻，不亦缪乎！且昔者中山之国地方五百里，赵独吞之，功成名立，而利附焉，天下莫之能害也。今夫韩、魏，中国之处，而

【今译】

以打击齐国，多出军队就对秦国有害。我想大王的计策是，想少出兵而让韩国、魏国全部出兵，就不仁义啦。现在已经发现盟国不亲密了，越过人家的国境进攻齐国，能行吗？这在计划上是疏忽了。况且齐湣王过去向南攻打楚国，打败了楚军，杀死了他们的将领，又开辟一千多里土地，可是齐国最后连尺寸之地也没有得到，难道是齐国不想得到土地吗？是形势所迫不能占有啊。各诸侯国看到齐国疲敝，君臣不和，就起兵攻打齐国，彻底打败了齐国。齐国士兵受辱、军队困顿，都归咎于他们的国王，说：‘谁出的这个主意？’齐王说：‘文子出的。’大臣作乱，文子逃走了。所以齐国大败的原因，是因为它攻打楚国却养肥了韩国、魏国。这就是所谓借给盗贼兵器，送给盗贼粮食。大王不如远交近攻，得一寸地就是大王的一寸地，得一尺地也是大王的一尺地。现在放下这些邻国而进攻远方的国家，不也错了么！况且过去中山国土地方圆五百里，赵国独吞了它，功成名立，利益跟着来了，天下没有能损害它的。现在韩国、魏国地处中原，是天下的枢纽，大





damage on Qi, while sending out a large one would weaken Qin. I assume you plan to send a small force and make use of the armies of Han and Wei, but this is not fair to them. Crossing their territory to launch an attack is no good way to treat your allies. This policy is not well considered.

“When King Min of Qi attacked Chu in the south, defeating Chu’s army, killing its general and conquering a thousand *li* of land, he did not keep one foot of ground. This was not because he did not want the territory, but because the circumstances did not permit it; the other states, seeing Qi exhausted and its king and minister at loggerheads, raised armies and smashed it. In the humiliation of defeat, the men of Qi asked their king, ‘who is to blame?’ and he replied, ‘Tian Wen.’ At that the ministers stirred up such trouble that Tian Wen had to flee. Qi suffered this great reverse because in attacking Chu it benefited Han and Wei. This is what is known as ‘supplying weapons and food to brigands.’

“You would be better advised to ally with distant states and attack your neighbours, for then you can keep every inch of land you win. It is certainly a mistake to attack distant states instead. Zhongshan with five hundred *li* of territory was swallowed up by Zhao alone, bringing Zhao such fame and such advantages that no other states could harm it. Now Han and Wei are central states holding a key position. If you



【原文】

天下之枢也。王其欲霸，必亲中国以为天下枢，以威楚、赵。楚强则附赵，赵强则附楚，楚、赵皆附，齐必惧矣。齐惧，必卑辞重币以事秦。齐附而韩、魏因可虏也。”昭王曰：“吾欲亲魏久矣，而魏多变之国也，寡人不能亲。请问亲魏奈何？”对曰：“王卑辞重币以事之；不可，则割地而赂之；不可，因举兵而伐之。”王曰：“寡人敬闻命矣。”乃拜范雎为客卿，谋兵事。卒听范雎谋，使五大夫绾伐魏，拔怀。后二岁，拔邢丘。

客卿范雎复说昭王曰：“秦、韩之地形，相错如绣。秦之有韩也，譬如木之有蠹也，人之有心腹之病也。天下无变则已，天下有变，其为秦患者孰大于韩乎？王不如收韩。”昭王曰：“吾固欲

【今译】

王要想称霸，一定要接近中原，以此作为天下枢纽，来威慑楚国、赵国。楚国强大就使赵国归附，赵国强大就使楚国归附，楚国、赵国都归附了，齐国一定恐惧。齐国恐惧，一定要用谦卑的言辞、贵重的礼物来服事秦国。齐国归附，韩国、魏国乘机也就被俘虏了。”昭王说：“我很早就想亲近魏国了，可是魏国是个变化多端的国家，寡人不能亲近它。请问怎么样亲近魏国？”范雎回答说：“大王用好话重金事奉它；如果不行，就割地贿赂它；还不行，就发兵攻打它。”秦王说：“寡人恭敬地听到了指教。”昭王就任命范雎作客卿，计划军事。终于听从了范雎的计策，派五大夫绾攻打魏国，攻下了怀地。二年后，攻下了邢丘。

客卿范雎又劝说昭王说：“秦国、韩国的地形，像刺绣一样交错。秦国对于韩国的存在，好比木头里有蠹虫，人有心腹之患。天下不变还罢了，天下如果有变，那成为秦国祸患的还有谁比韩国更大呢？大王不如收服韩国。”昭王说：“我本来想收服韩国，



want to become a conqueror, you should maintain close relations with these central states in order to impress Chu and Zhao with your might. Then if Chu is strong you can ally with Zhao, if Zhao is strong you can ally with Chu. When both these states are your allies, Qi will take fright and cultivate your friendship with humble words and rich gifts. And once Qi is on your side, you can seize Han and Wei."

"I have long wanted close relations with Wei," said the king. "But it has been impossible because they keep changing their policy. Please tell me how to set about it."

"First woo them with humble words and rich gifts," said Fan Sui. "If that fails, offer territory. If that too fails, attack with your army."

"I shall carry out your instructions," said the king.

He made Fan Sui an honorary minister and consulted him on military affairs. On his advice he sent Wan, a noble of the fifth rank, to attack Wei and capture Huai. Two years later Xingqiu was taken.

Once more Fan Sui advised the king, saying, "The boundaries of Qin and Han interlace like threads in embroidery. To Qin, Han is like dry rot in wood or a cancer in the heart. If the world is at peace, well and good. But if trouble starts, none can damage Qin more than Han. You had better subdue Han, sir."

"I am only too eager to do so," replied the king. "But Han will not submit. What can I do?"



【原文】

收韩，韩不听，为之奈何？”对曰：“韩安得无听乎？王下兵而攻荥阳，则巩、成皋之道不通；北断太行之道，则上党之师不下。王一兴兵而攻荥阳，则其国断而为三。夫韩见必亡，安得不听乎？若韩听，而霸事因可虑矣。”王曰：“善。”且欲发使于韩。

范雎日益亲，复说用数年矣，因请间说曰：“臣居山东时，闻齐之有田文，不闻其有王也；闻秦之有太后、穰侯、华阳、高陵、泾阳，不闻其有王也。夫擅国之谓王，能利害之谓王，制杀生之威之谓王。今太后擅行不顾，穰侯出使不报，华阳、泾阳等击断无讳，高陵进退不请。四贵备而国不危者，未之有也。为此四贵者下，乃所谓无王也。然则权安得不倾，令安得从王出乎？臣闻善治

【今译】

韩国不听从，怎么办呢？”范雎说：“韩国怎么能不听从呢？大王发兵攻打荥阳，那么巩地、成皋的道路不通；从北截断太行山的道路，那么上党的军队就不能下山了。大王一旦起兵攻打荥阳，那么他的国家就会分割成三块。韩国看到一定灭亡，怎么能不听从呢？如果韩国听从了，霸业就可以考虑了。”昭王说：“好。”将要派使臣去韩国。

范雎日益亲近昭王，言论又被采纳了好几年了，就乘机劝说昭王道：“我住在山东时，听说齐国有田文，没听说他们有国王；听说秦国有太后、穰侯、华阳君、高陵君、泾阳君，没听说他们有君王。独揽国政的叫君王，能够兴利除害的叫君王，控制生杀威权的叫君王。现在太后擅自行动，不顾一切，穰侯出使也不汇报，华阳君、泾阳君等杀人断案没有忌讳，高陵君任免官吏都不请示。这四个贵人齐备可是国家不危险的，还没有过。在这四个贵人的下面，才是所谓的君王呢。这样大权怎么能不旁落，政令



"Han will have to submit! Send an army to attack Xingyang and block the roads to Gong and Chenggao. Then cut the road to Taihang in the north and bottle up their forces in Shangdang. In this way you will divide Han into three and, when they see that they are doomed, they will submit. Once that happens, you can plan to conquer the world."

"Very good," said the king and sent an envoy to Han.

Fan Sui daily rose in favour. After he had advised the king for several years, he took an opportunity to say, "When I lived back in the east, I heard of Tian Wen but never of the king of Qi. Similarly, I heard of the queen dowager, Marquis Rang, Lord Huayang, Lord Gaoling and Lord Jingyang, but never of the king of Qin. Now a king should rule the state, meting out rewards and punishments and holding the power of life and death; but the queen dowager does exactly as she pleases, Marquis Rang undertakes missions without reporting on them to you, Lord Huayang and Lord Jingyang pass arbitrary judgements, and Lord Gaoling comes and goes without asking permission. No country with four such nobles could escape disaster. With four such nobles in control, there might as well be no king! His sovereignty is inevitably undermined and the orders do not come from him.



【原文】

国者，乃内固其威，而外重其权。穰侯使者操王之重，决制于诸侯，剖符于天下，政适代国，莫敢不听。战胜攻取，则利归于陶国，弊御于诸侯；战败则结怨于百姓，而祸归于社稷。《诗》曰‘木实繁者披其枝，披其枝者伤其心；大其都者危其国，尊其臣者卑其主’。崔杼、淖齿管齐，射王股，擢王筋，县之于庙梁，宿昔而死。李兑管赵，囚主父于沙丘，百日而饿死。今臣闻秦太后、穰侯用事，高陵、华阳、泾阳佐之，卒无秦王，此亦淖齿、李兑之类也。且夫三代所以亡国者，君专授政，纵酒驰骋弋猎，不听政事。其所授者，妒贤嫉能，御下蔽上，以成其私，不为主计，而主

【今译】

怎么能从大王那里发出呢？我听说善于治国的人，就要对内巩固自己的威信，对外重视他的权力。穰侯出使外国时操持着大王的重权，在诸侯中决断控制，持着符节到天下，征伐敌人，攻打别国，没有谁敢不听从的。战胜攻取了，好处归到陶邑，国家的损害由诸侯承担；战败了那么就会与百姓结下怨恨，把灾祸归到社稷上。《诗经》说‘树上果实多的会压折树枝，压折树枝会损伤树心；扩大属国就会危害国家，尊崇臣子会使君主卑微’。崔杼、淖齿掌管齐国政权，射国王的腿，抽国王的筋，把国王吊在庙堂的梁上，过了一晚上就死了。李兑掌管赵国政权，把主父囚禁在沙丘，过了一百天饿死了。现在我听说秦国太后、穰侯当政，高陵君、华阳君、泾阳君辅助他们，最终会没有了秦王，这也是淖齿、李兑一类的。况且三代亡国的原因，是国君把国政交给大臣，自己纵酒驰骋，四处打猎，不听政事。那些被授予国政的人，嫉贤妒能，欺下瞒上，想实现他们的私欲，不替君主打



"I have heard that a good ruler should strengthen his authority at home and increase his power abroad. Marquis Rang has usurped the royal prerogative: he acts as an arbitrator between other states; he sends his envoys throughout the world, and undertakes military expeditions against other states. When these campaigns are successful, his fief of Tao reaps the benefit and the other states suffer. When these campaigns are unsuccessful there is popular discontent and out state suffers the consequences. The old song runs:

Boughs laden with fruit will break,
Boughs broken damage the tree;
Too great a capital weakens the state,
Too high a subject brings his sovereign low.

"When Cui Shu and Nao Chi were in control of Qi, they shot the king in the thigh with an arrow, slashed his tendons and hung him from a temple beam, so that he died the next day. When Li Dui had control of Zhao, he imprisoned the king at Shaqiu for a hundred days and finally starved him to death. Now I hear that the power in Qin is held by the queen dowager and Marquis Rang, assisted by Lord Gaoling, Lord Huayang and Lord Jingyang, while the king has no place. This is like the case of Nao Chi and Li Dui.

"The Three Dynasties perished because their last rulers delegated all authority to their ministers while they caroused and hunted, ignoring affairs of state. But those entrusted with power envied men of talent, lorded it over the people, acted in their own selfish interests and hid the truth from their king. They did not have their sovereigns' interests at



【原文】

不觉悟，故失其国。今自有秩以上至诸大吏，下及王左右，无非相国之人者。见王独立于朝，臣窃为王恐，万世之后，有秦国者非王子孙也。”昭王闻之大惧，曰：“善。”于是废太后，逐穰侯、高陵、华阳、泾阳君于关外。秦王乃拜范雎为相。收穰侯之印，使归陶，因使县官给车牛以徙，千乘有余。到关，关阅其宝器，宝器珍怪多于王室。

秦封范雎以应，号为应侯。当是时，秦昭王四十一年也。

范雎既相秦，秦号曰张禄，而魏不知，以为范雎已死久矣。魏闻秦且东伐韩、魏，魏使须贾于秦。范雎闻之，为微行，敝衣闲步之邸，见须贾。须贾见之而惊曰：“范叔固无恙乎！”范雎曰：

【今译】

算，可是君主不觉悟，所以丧失了他们的国家。现在从一般官吏以上直到许多大臣，再向下以至大王的左右，没有不是相国的人。看到大王在朝廷上很孤立，我私下替大王担心，万代以后，拥有秦国的不是大王的子孙了。”昭王听到这些很害怕，说：

“好。”于是废黜了太后，把穰侯、高陵君、华阳君、泾阳君驱逐到函谷关外。秦王就任命范雎作宰相。收回穰侯的相印，让他回到了陶地，派官府供应车子和牛为他搬迁，有一千多辆车。到了边关，关上的官吏检查他的珍宝器物，奇珍异宝比王室还多。

秦国把应地封给范雎，封号是应侯。这时是秦昭王四十一年（公元前266年）。

范雎已经当了秦国宰相，秦国人称他为张禄，可是魏国人不知道，以为范雎已经死了很久了。魏国听说秦国将要向东攻打韩国、魏国，魏国派须贾到秦国。范雎听说了，就暗中出行，穿着破衣从小路到了宾馆里，看到了须贾。须贾看见他惊讶道：“范叔



heart, but because the kings did not know this they lost their realms. Now all officers from the lowest to the highest, as well as all court attendants, are followers of the prime minister. You are completely isolated at court, which makes me fear that after your passing some other than your descendant will reign over Qin."

King Zhao in great dismay replied, "You are right."

He degraded the queen dowager and sent Marquis Rang, Lord Gaoling, Lord Huayang and Lord Jingyang beyond the Pass. Having made Fan Sui prime minister, he took back Marquis Rang's seal of office and ordered him to return to Tao. The government had to use more than a thousand carts to move his property. And his treasures, examined at the Pass, outnumbered those of the king. Fan Sui was given the district of Ying and enfeoffed as Marquis Ying. This was in the forty-first year of King Zhao of Qin.³

Now Fan Sui had become Qin's prime minister under the name of Zhang Lu, but the men of Wei did not know this, imagining that Fan Sui was long since dead. When word reached the king of Wei that Qin meant to strike east against Han and his own state, he dispatched Xu Jia as his envoy to Qin. Fan Sui, learning of this, went incognito in shabby clothes and on foot to Xu Jia's hostel.

At sight of him, Xu Jia exclaimed in surprise, "So you are all right, Fan Sui!"

"Yes, as you see."



【原文】

“然。”须贾笑曰：“范叔有说于秦邪？”曰：“不也。睢前日得过于魏相，故亡逃至此，安敢说乎！”须贾曰：“今叔何事？”范睢曰：“臣为人庸赁。”须贾意哀之，留与坐饮食，曰：“范叔一寒如此哉！”乃取其一终袍以赐之。须贾因问曰：“秦相张君，公知之乎？吾闻幸于王，天下之事，皆决于相君。今吾事之去留在张君。孺子岂有客习于相君者哉？”范睢曰：“主人翁习知之。唯睢亦得谒，睢请为见君于张君。”须贾曰：“吾马病，车轴折，非大车驷马，吾固不出。”范睢曰：“愿为君借大车驷马于主人翁。”

范睢归取大车驷马，为须贾御之，入秦相府。府中望见，有识者皆避匿。须贾怪之。至相舍门，谓须贾曰：“待我，我为君先入

【今译】

原来没出事啊！”范睢说：“是这样。”须贾笑着说：“范叔到秦国游说了吧？”范睢说：“不。范睢前些时候得罪了魏国宰相，所以逃跑到此，怎么敢游说呢！”须贾说：“现在范叔做些什么事呢？”范睢说：“我替人家作雇工。”须贾心里怜悯他，留下他一起坐下喝酒吃饭，说：“范叔贫寒到这个样子啊！”就取出他的一件厚绸袍子赐给他。须贾乘机问道：“秦国宰相张君，您知道吗？我听说他被秦王宠信，天下大事都由相君决断。现在我的事情成败都取决于张君。你小子有没有朋友和相君熟悉呢？”范睢说：“我的主人熟悉了解他。就是我也能进见，我请求替您在张君面前引见。”须贾说：“我的马病了，车轴也折了，不是四马拉的大车，我是不会出门的。”范睢说：“我愿意为您向我的主人借四匹马拉的大车。”

范睢回去取来了四匹马拉的大车，替须贾驾车，进了相府。府中人有望见的，认识的人都躲避起来。须贾对此觉得奇怪。到了宰相的家门，范睢对须贾说：“等着我，我替您先进去通报相





Xu Jia smiled, "Are you advising the king of Qin?"

"No, I came here as a fugitive after offending the prime minister of Wei. How could I offer advice to the king?"

"What are you doing, then?"

"Working as a hired hand."

Pitying the man, Xu Jia asked him to a meal. "Imagine your coming to such a sorry pass!" he said, and gave Fan Sui one of his own silk gowns. "Do you know this Zhang Lu, prime minister of Qin?" he asked. "I hear he stands well with the king and decides all affairs of state. Whether I can stay or not depends on him. Do you know anyone close to him, my boy?"

"Yes, my master knows him well. I could arrange an interview for you with Master Zhang."

"My horses are worn out and my carriage wheels are damaged. I must go there in a large carriage drawn by four horses."

"I will borrow my master's carriage and horses for you."

Fan Sui went back to fetch a carriage and horses and, acting as Xu Jia's groom, drove up to the prime minister's residence. When the men there saw him, all who recognized him kept out of the way, to Xu Jia's astonishment. When they reached the gate of the prime minister's living

【原文】

通于相君。”须贾待门下，持车良久，问门下曰：“范叔不出何也？”门下曰：“无范叔。”须贾曰：“乡者与我载而入者。”门下曰：“乃吾相张君也。”须贾大惊，自知见卖，乃肉袒膝行，因门下人谢罪。于是范雎盛帷帐，侍者甚众，见之。须贾顿首言死罪，曰：“贾不意君能自致于青云之上，贾不敢复读天下之书，不敢复与天下之事。贾有汤镬之罪，请自屏于胡貉之地，唯君死生之！”范雎曰：“汝罪有几？”曰：“擢贾之发以续贾之罪，尚未足。”范雎曰：“汝罪有三耳。昔者楚昭王时而申包胥为楚却吴军，楚王封之以荆五千户，包胥辞不受，为丘墓之寄于荆也。今雎之先人丘墓

【今译】

君。”须贾等在门口，拉着车绳很久了，问门口的人说：“范叔不出来，为什么？”门人说：“没有范叔。”须贾说：“刚才和我一起坐车进来的那个人就是范叔。”门人说：“那是我们的宰相张君。”须贾很惊慌，知道自己被欺骗了，就脱衣露体，用膝盖走路，通过门人向范雎谢罪。这时范雎坐在华丽阔大的帷帐中，侍候的人很多，接见了须贾。须贾磕头称死罪，说：“我没想到您能自己达到青云之上，我不敢再读天下之书，不敢再参与天下之事。我犯下了该扔到热水锅中烹煮的死罪，请让我自己退到野蛮地区，听凭您处置我的生死！”范雎说：“你的罪有几条？”须贾说：“拔了我的头发来数我的罪，还不够呢。”范雎说：“你的罪有三条。过去楚昭王时申包胥替楚国打退了吴军，楚王把荆地的五千户封给他，申包胥推辞不接受，因为他家的坟墓就在荆地。现在我的先人的坟墓也在魏国，你从前认为我有外心串通齐国，





quarters, Fan Sui said to Xu Jia, "Wait here while I announce you."

Xu Jia waited at the gate in the carriage for some time, then asked the attendants, "Why hasn't Fan Sui come back?"

"There is no one here called Fan Sui," was the reply.

"I mean the man who brought me in this carriage."

"That was our prime minister, Zhang Lu."

Xu Jia, dumbfounded by the trick played on him, bared his shoulder and fell on his knees, begging the attendants to apologize to the prime minister for him. Fan Sui then received him among splendid hangings and troops of attendants. Xu Jia kowtowed and pleaded for mercy.

"I little knew you would ascend to such heights, sir," he said, "From now on I shall not presume to read any more books or meddle with worldly affairs. I deserve to be thrown into a boiling cauldron. I beg to be exiled among the barbarians. My life is in your hands!"

"How many crimes are you guilty of?" asked Fan Sui.

"More crimes than the number of hairs on my head, were I to enumerate them one by one."

"Your crimes are three," retorted Fan Sui. "In the time of King Zhao of Chu, Shen Baoxu repulsed the army of Wu for him, and the king offered him a fief of five thousand households in Jing; but Shen declined because his ancestral graves were in Jing. My ancestral graves are in Wei, yet you suspected me of working for Qi and accused me to



【原文】

亦在魏，公前以睢为有外心于齐而恶睢于魏齐，公之罪一也。当魏齐辱我于厕中，公不止，罪二也。更醉而溺我，公其何忍乎？罪三矣。然公之所以得无死者，以终袍恋恋，有故人之意，故释公。”乃谢罢。人言之昭王，罢归须贾。

须贾辞于范睢，范睢大供具，尽请诸侯使，与坐堂上，饮食甚设。而坐须贾于堂下，置莖豆其前，令两黥徒夹而马食之。数曰：“为我告魏王，急持魏齐头来！不然者，我且屠大梁。”须贾归，以告魏齐。魏齐恐，亡走赵，匿平原君所。

范睢既相，王稽谓范睢曰：“事有不可知者三，有不可奈何者亦三。宫车一日晏驾，是事之不可知者一也。君卒然捐馆舍，是事

【今译】

在魏齐面前恶语中伤我，这是你的第一条罪。当魏齐在厕所中侮辱我的时候，你没有制止，这是第二条罪。喝醉后接连地派人向我身上小便，你怎么这样残忍呢？这是第三条罪。可是你能不死的原因，是因为把厚绸袍子赠给我，还有顾恋之心，还有老朋友的情意，所以放过你。”于是须贾称谢告辞。范睢进宫对秦昭王说了此事，打发须贾回去。

须贾向范睢告辞，范睢大摆筵席，把诸侯的使者都请来，和他们一起坐在堂上，酒菜很丰盛。让须贾坐在堂下，把草料豆子放在他面前，让两个受过黥刑的犯人夹着他，像喂马一样让他吃。范睢责备他说：“替我告诉魏王，赶快拿着魏齐的头过来！要不然，我将要屠杀大梁城。”须贾回去，把这些告诉魏齐。魏齐害怕了，逃跑到赵国，藏在平原君家里。

范睢已经当了宰相，王稽对范睢说：“事情有三种不能知道的，有三种无可奈何的。国君会有一天死去，这是第一种不可预



Wei Qi. That was your first crime. When Wei Qi insulted me by throwing me into the privy, you did not stop him. That was your second crime. You even sank low enough to urinate on me when you were drunk. That was your third crime. I shall spare your life, however, because your gift of a silk gown showed that you still had some feeling for an old friend." With that he dismissed him. And he advised King Zhao to send him away.

When Xu Jia came to take his leave, Fan Sui prepared a great banquet to which he invited envoys from all the states. As they sat feasting in the hall, Xu Jia was placed below the steps and two tattooed criminals were ordered to seize him and force him to eat straw and beans like a horse.

"Tell the king of Wei to send Wei Qi's head here at once," ordered Fan Sui. "Otherwise all Daliang will be put to the sword."

When Xu Jia went back and reported this, Wei Qi fled in terror to Zhao to take refuge with Lord Pingyuan.

After Fan Sui became prime minister Wang Ji told him, "There are three contingencies about which we can do nothing. First, the king's



【原文】

之不可知者二也。使臣卒然填沟壑，是事之不可知者三也。宫车一日晏驾，君虽恨于臣，无可奈何。君卒然捐馆舍，君虽恨于臣，亦无可奈何。使臣卒然填沟壑，君虽恨于臣，亦无可奈何。”范雎不怿，乃入言于王曰：“非王稽之忠，莫能内臣于函谷关；非大王之贤圣，莫能贵臣。今臣官至于相，爵在列侯，王稽之官尚止于谒者，非其内臣之意也。”昭王召王稽，拜为河东守，三岁不上计。又任郑安平，昭王以为将军。范雎于是散家财物，尽以报所尝困厄者。一饭之德必偿，睚眦之怨必报。

范雎相秦二年，秦昭王之四十二年，东伐韩少曲、高平，

【今译】

知的事情。您要突然死在客馆里，这是第二种不可能知道的事情。假如我突然死了被埋在沟壑里，这是第三种不能知道的事情。如果君王真的有一天死去了，您即使为推荐我而悔恨，是无可奈何了。如果您突然死在客馆里，您虽然对我有所遗憾，也无可奈何了。假如我突然死去埋在沟壑里，您虽然因为没有报答我的救命之恩而感到悔恨，也无可奈何了。”范雎不高兴了，就进宫对昭王说：“如果不是王稽的忠诚，就不能在函谷关接纳我；不是大王的圣明，也不能重用我。现在我官至宰相，爵位在列侯，王稽的官职还只是谒者，这不是他接纳我的心意啊。”昭王召来王稽，任命他为河东郡守，三年内不要向上汇报施政情况。范雎又使郑安平受到任用，昭王让他作将军。范雎于是散发家里的财物，以此报答所有的那些因为他的事遭受困苦的人。一顿饭的恩德也一定偿还，瞪瞪眼睛的仇怨也一定报复。

范雎当秦国宰相的第二年，是秦昭王四十二年（公元前



death. Secondly, your sudden death. Thirdly, my own death. If the king dies, however much we regret it, we can do nothing about it. If you die, however much I regret it, I can do nothing. If I die, however much you regret it, you can do nothing.”

Fan Sui was distressed and went in to the king to say, “If not for Wang Ji’s friendship, I could never have entered the Hangu Pass. If not for Your Majesty’s sagacity, I could never have become a noble. Now I am prime minister with the rank of a marquis, while Wang Ji is still a palace steward. He expected better things.”

Then King Zhao sent for Wang Ji and appointed him governor of Hedong, exempting his district from taxation for three years. He also enlisted Zheng Anping’s services and made him a general.

Fan Sui rewarded from his own pocket all who had helped him in distress. He would repay even the kindness of a single meal, take vengeance on even an unfriendly glance.

In the forty-second year of King Zhao, the second year in which Fan Sui was prime minister, Qin’s army attacked Han and took Shaoqu



【原文】

拔之。

秦昭王闻魏齐在平原君所，欲为范雎必报其仇，乃详为好书遗平原君曰：“寡人闻君之高义，愿与君为布衣之友，君幸过寡人，寡人愿与君为十日之饮。”平原君畏秦，且以为然，而入秦见昭王。昭王与平原君饮数日，昭王谓平原君曰：“昔周文王得吕尚以为太公，齐桓公得管夷吾以为仲父，今范君亦寡人之叔父也。范君之仇在君之家，愿使人归取其头来；不然，吾不出君于关。”平原君曰：“贵而为交者，为贱也；富而为交者，为贫也。夫魏齐者，胜之友也，在，固不出也，今又不在臣所。”昭王乃遗赵王书曰：“王之弟在秦，范君之仇魏齐在平原君之家。王使人疾持其头来；

【今译】

265年)，向东攻打韩国的少曲、高平，攻下了它们。

秦昭王听说魏齐在平原君家里，一定要为范雎报这个仇，就假装友好地送给平原君一封信说：“寡人听说您的高尚的仁义，愿意和您结成普通百姓一样的友谊，您要是光临我这里，我愿意和您畅饮十天。”平原君畏惧秦国，并且认为信中写的是对的，就进秦国会见秦昭王。昭王和平原君饮了几杯酒，昭王对平原君说：“过去周文王得到吕尚，把他看作太公，齐桓公得到管夷吾把他看成仲父，现在范君也是寡人的叔父。范君的仇人在您的家里，希望派人回去取他的头过来；要不然，我不放您出关。”平原君说：“尊贵的人结交朋友，是因为不忘卑贱；富裕的人结交朋友，是为了不忘贫困。魏齐，是我的朋友，即使是在我家里，我也一定不会把他交出来，何况现在又不在我家里。”昭王就送给赵王信说：“大王的弟弟在秦国，范君的仇人魏齐在平原君家。大王派



and Gaoping. King Zhao knew that Wei Qi was staying with Lord Pingyuan and, because he wanted to avenge Fan Sui, he sent the lord this friendly invitation, "Having heard of your noble character, I would like to be on friendly terms with you, just like two ordinary citizens. Won't you come and drink with me for ten days?"

Lord Pingyuan, who stood in awe of Qin, accepted the invitation. When King Zhao had drunk with him for a few days he said, "In ancient times King Wen of Zhou had Lü Shang, whom he made the Patriarch. Duke Huan of Qi had Guan Zhong, whom he honoured with the title of uncle. Now I regard Fan Sui as my own uncle, and his enemy is in your house. I hope you will send a man back to fetch me his head. If not, I shall keep you here."

"Even the rich and noble cleave to old friends who are obscure and poor," retorted Lord Pingyuan. "Wei Qi is my friend. Even if he were in my house — which he is not — I could not surrender him."

Then King Zhao of Qin sent this message to the king of Zhao, "Your younger brother is here, and Fan Sui's enemy Wei Qi is in his house. Unless you promptly send me Wei Qi's head, I shall dispatch an



【原文】

不然，吾举兵而伐赵，又不出王之弟于关。”赵孝成王乃发卒围平原君家，急，魏齐夜亡出，见赵相虞卿。虞卿度赵王终不可说，乃解其相印，与魏齐亡，间行，念诸侯莫可以急抵者，乃复走大梁，欲因信陵君以走楚。信陵君闻之，畏秦，犹豫未肯见，曰：“虞卿何如人也？”时侯嬴在旁，曰：“人固未易知，知人亦未易也。夫虞卿蹑屣檐簦，一见赵王，赐白璧一双，黄金百镒；再见，拜为上卿；三见，卒受相印，封万户侯。当此之时，天下争知之。夫魏齐穷困过虞卿，虞卿不敢重爵禄之尊，解相印，捐万户而间行。急士之穷而归公子，公子曰‘何如人’。人固不易知，知人亦未易也！”信陵君大惭，驾如野迎之。魏齐闻信陵君之初难见之，怒而

【今译】

人赶快拿着魏齐的头过来；要不然，我发兵攻打赵国，又不放大王的弟弟出关。”赵孝成王就发兵包围了平原君家，形势紧急，魏齐夜里逃出来，求见赵国宰相虞卿。虞卿估计赵王终究不能劝说得动，就解下相印，和魏齐一起逃跑，从小道走，想到诸侯中没有能够很快到达的，就又逃回大梁，想靠信陵君逃到楚国。信陵君听说了，畏惧秦国，犹豫着不肯接见，说：“虞卿是什么人？”这时候嬴在旁边，说：“人本来不容易被别人了解，了解别人也不容易。虞卿穿着草鞋、打着伞，第一次见到赵王，被赐给白璧一双，黄金百镒；第二次见到赵王，被任命为上卿；第三次见到赵王，终于被授予相印，封为万户侯。在这时候，天下争着了解他。魏齐穷困潦倒时投奔虞卿，虞卿不看重爵位俸禄的尊贵，解下相印，弃了万户侯而从小道来。他急士人之困来投奔公子，公子说‘什么人’。人本来就不容易被别人了解，了解别人也不容易啊！”信陵君很惭愧，驱车到郊外迎接他们。魏齐听说信



army against your state and hold your brother prisoner."

King Xiaocheng of Zhao sent troops to surround Lord Pingyuan's house. Wei Qi in desperation fled at night to Yu Qing the prime minister. And Yu Qing, fairly sure that the king would prove adamant, relinquished his seal of office and left with Wei Qi. Travelling in secret, they could not escape quickly to another state but went to Daliang, hoping that Lord Xinling would help them to find refuge in Chu. But fear of reprisals from Qin made Lord Xinling hesitate to admit them.

"What sort of man is this Yu Qing?" he asked.

Hou Ying who was beside him replied, "Men are not easy to understand, and to understand men is not easy. This Yu Qing appeared before the king of Zhao in straw sandals with an umbrella over his shoulder. After the first interview he was given two white jade discs and two thousand *yi* of gold; after the second he was made a high-ranking minister, after the third he received the prime minister's seal and was made a noble with a fief of ten thousand households, so that all the world courted his acquaintance. When Wei Qi turned to him in desperation, Yu Qing, without a thought for his high position, relinquished his seal of office and his fief to help a gentleman in trouble escape. But now that they come to you, you ask, "What sort of man is he?" Truly, men are not easy to understand, and to understand men is not easy!"

Then Lord Xinling, much ashamed, went by carriage to the country to welcome them. Wei Qi, however, had heard of his initial reluctance and in his anger killed himself with his own sword. When the



【原文】

自刭。赵王闻之，卒取其头予秦。秦昭王乃出平原君归赵。

昭王四十三年，秦攻韩汾陁，拔之，因城河上广武。

后五年，昭王用应侯谋，纵反间卖赵，赵以其故，令马服子代廉颇将。秦大破赵于长平，遂围邯郸。已而与武安君白起有隙，言而杀之。任郑安平，使将击赵。郑安平为赵所围，急，以兵二万人降赵。应侯席橐请罪。秦之法，任人而所任不善者，各以其罪罪之。于是应侯罪当收三族。秦昭王恐伤应侯之意，乃下令国中：“有敢言郑安平事者，以其罪罪之。”而加赐相国应侯食物日益厚，以顺适其意。后二岁，王稽为河东守，与诸侯通，坐法诛。而应侯日益以不怿。

【今译】

陵君当初为接见他们为难，一怒之下自刎而亡。赵王听说了，终于取下他的头给了秦国。秦昭王才放出平原君返回赵国。

秦昭王四十三年(公元前264年)，秦国攻打韩国的汾陁，攻下了它，就在黄河边的广武筑城。

过了五年，昭王采用应侯的计策，使用反间计欺骗了赵国，赵国因为这个原因，让马服的儿子代替廉颇带兵。秦军在长平大破赵军，就包围了邯郸。不久范雎同武安君白起有嫌隙，进言杀了白起。任用郑安平，让他带兵攻打赵国。郑安平被赵军包围，形势紧急，带领军队二万人投降了赵国。应侯坐在草垫上请罪。秦国的法律，举荐人而被举荐人犯了罪，举荐人与被举荐人同罪。当时应侯按罪应当拘捕三族。秦昭王恐怕伤了应侯的心，就向国中下令：

“有谁敢谈论郑安平事件的，处以跟郑安平同等的罪。”赏赐给相国应侯的饮食器物日益丰厚，来让他顺心。二年后，王稽担任河东郡守，和各国勾结，犯法被处死。应侯日益不高兴。



king of Zhao learned this he had the head sent to the king of Qin, who allowed his hostage Lord Pingyuan to return to Zhao.

In the forty-third year of King Zhao, Qin attacked the district of Fenxing in Han and took it, then built a stronghold at Guangwu by the Yellow River. Five years later the king of Qin, on the advice of Fan Sui, tricked Zhao by spreading a rumour which induced the king of Zhao to appoint Zhao Kuo, son of Zhao She entitled Lord of Mafu, in Lian Po's place as commander. Then Qin routed the army of Zhao at Changping, and laid siege to their capital, Handan.

Fan Sui, who disliked Bai Qi, Lord Wuan, spoke against him and had him killed. Zheng Anping was made commander of the forces attacking Zhao, but he was surrounded by the enemy and forced to surrender with twenty thousand men. Then Fan Sui, sitting on a straw mat, asked for punishment. For according to the law of Qin, when an officer proved worthless the man who recommended him should receive the same punishment, and therefore the whole family of Fan Sui should have been arrested. But because King Zhao did not want to harm Fan Sui, he forbade any mention of the Zheng Anping affair throughout the country, on pain of receiving the same punishment. And to reassure Fan Sui, he increased his daily gifts of food to him. Two years later Wang Ji, then governor of Hedong, was executed for his illicit dealings with other states, and this made Fan Sui even more alarmed.



【原文】

昭王临朝叹息，应侯进曰：“臣闻‘主忧臣辱，主辱臣死’，今大王中朝而忧，臣敢请其罪。”昭王曰：“吾闻楚之铁剑利而倡优拙。夫铁剑利则士勇，倡优拙则思虑远。夫以远思虑而御勇士，吾恐楚之图秦也。夫物不素具，不可以应卒，今武安君既死，而郑安平等畔，内无良将而外多敌国，吾是以忧。”欲以激励应侯。应侯惧，不知所出。蔡泽闻之，往入秦也。

蔡泽者，燕人也。游学干诸侯小大甚众，不遇，而从唐举相，曰：“吾闻先生相李兑，曰‘百日之内，持国秉’，有之乎？”曰：“有之。”曰：“若臣者何如？”唐举孰视而笑曰：“先生曷鼻、巨肩、魋颜、蹙颡、膝挛。吾闻圣人不相，殆先生乎？”蔡

【今译】

昭王在上朝时叹息，应侯进前道：“我听说‘君主忧愁是臣子的耻辱，君主受辱臣子要去死’。现在大王在朝廷上忧愁，我大胆地请求接受处罚。”昭王说：“我听说楚国的铁剑锋利而歌舞技艺拙劣。铁剑锋利则说明士兵勇敢，歌舞拙劣则说明思虑深远。以远大的思虑来驾御勇敢的战士，我担心楚国会图谋秦国。事情平常不准备，不能应付仓猝的事变，现在武安君已经死了，郑安平等入背叛了，国内没有良将，国外有很多敌国，我因此忧虑。”昭王想以此激励应侯。应侯害怕了，不知道出什么主意。蔡泽听说了，前去到了秦国。

蔡泽是燕国人。游学列国，求见很多大小诸侯谋求官职，可是没人赏识他，就找唐举看相，说：“我听说先生给李兑看相，说‘一百天以内执掌国家政权’，有这回事吗？”唐举说：“有这回事。”蔡泽说：“像我怎么样？”唐举仔细地看了看他，笑着说：“先生是朝天鼻，耸肩膀短脖子，大脸，塌鼻梁，膝盖蜷曲。我



While holding court one day King Zhao sighed. Fan Sui stepped forward to say, "It is said that when the ruler is anxious his minister should feel ashamed. When the ruler is disgraced his minister should die. Now you, great king, are showing anxiety at court, I beg to be penalized."

"I have heard that Chu's iron swords are sharp but its singers and jesters are clumsy," said King Zhao. "This means that its soldiers are brave and that their ambitions are high. I fear that Chu, with its high ambition and brave men, may try to conquer us. When no preparations have been made there is no way of dealing with an emergency. I am anxious now because since Lord Wuan's death and Zheng Anping's revolt we have had no good commanders and are surrounded by enemies." The king's implied reprimand so alarmed Fan Sui that he did not know what to do. When word of this reached Cai Ze, he went to Qin.

Cai Ze was a native of Yan who as an itinerant scholar had tried his luck in many states without success. One day he consulted the physiognomist Tang Ju. "Is it true," he asked, "that you predicted to Li Dui that within a hundred days he would hold state power?"

"It is true," replied Tang Ju.

"Can you tell my future?"

After a careful look at him Tang Ju answered with a smile, "You have a snub, upturned nose, massive shoulders, a prominent forehead and bow legs. The saying 'A sage is ill-favoured' may apply to you."



【原文】

泽知唐举戏之，乃曰：“富贵吾所自有，吾所不知者寿也，愿闻之。”唐举曰：“先生之寿，从今以往者四十三年。”蔡泽笑谢而去，谓其御者曰：“吾持梁刺齿肥，跃马疾驱，怀黄金之印，结紫绶于要，揖让人主之前，食肉富贵，四十三年足矣。”去之赵，见逐。之韩、魏，遇夺釜鬲于途。闻应侯任郑安平、王稽皆负重罪于秦，应侯内惭，蔡泽乃西入秦。

将见昭王，使人宣言以感怒应侯曰：“燕客蔡泽，天下雄俊弘辩智士也，彼一见秦王，秦王必困君而夺君之位。”应侯闻，曰：

“五帝、三代之事，百家之说，吾既知之，众口之辩，吾皆摧之，是恶能困我而夺我位乎？”使人召蔡泽。蔡泽入，则揖应侯。应侯

【今译】

听说圣人不在乎相貌，大概就是说先生吧？”蔡泽知道唐举跟自己开玩笑，就说：“富贵是我本来有的，我不知道的是寿数，希望听您说说。”唐举说：“先生的寿数，从今往后有四十二年。”蔡泽笑着道谢而去，对他的车夫说：“我端着米饭，吃着肥肉，策马急驰，怀抱着黄金印，在腰上系着紫色绶带，在君主面前作揖礼让，吃着肉，又富贵，四十二年足够了。”他便离开唐举来到赵国，被驱逐。到韩国、魏国，在途中遇到强盗，夺走了他的锅碗。蔡泽听说应侯任用郑安平、王稽都在秦国犯了重罪，应侯心里惭愧，蔡泽就向西进入秦国。

蔡泽将要拜见昭王，派人扬言来激怒应侯说：“燕国游客蔡泽，是天下雄才，擅长辩论的聪明人。他一见到秦王，秦王一定为难您并夺了您的相位。”应侯听到了，说：“五帝、三代的事情，百家的学说，我全部知道，众人的巧辩，我都打败了他们，这人怎么能使我为难并夺了我的相位呢？”派人召来蔡泽。蔡泽进



Aware that Tang Ju was mocking him, Cai Ze said, "Wealth and rank I can get for myself. What I want to ask you is how long I shall live?"

"Another forty-three years, sir," was the answer.

Cai Ze thanked him with a smile and left. He told his driver, "Forty-three years is long enough to enjoy good food, ride swift horses and, with a golden seal in my hands and a purple tassel round my waist, bow before my sovereign and savour the joys of rank and riches."

He went to Zhao but was driven away, and was robbed of his cooking vessels while travelling on the road to Han and Wei. When he heard that both Zheng Anping and Wang Ji were in trouble and that Fan Sui, who had recommended them, was troubled by a guilty conscience, he made his way to Qin.

Before being received by King Zhao, he sent someone to provoke Fan Sui and tell him, "This Cai Ze from Yan is a great man known everywhere for his wisdom and eloquence. Once the king of Qin sees him, he will think less of you and dismiss you from your post."

Fan Sui replied, "I am well versed in the hundred schools of thought, as well as all the historical events of the Three Dynasties and the reigns of the Five Emperors. I can refute any orator however eloquent. How could he embarrass me or seize my position?" And so he sent for Cai Ze.

Cai Ze, coming in, merely bowed. And seeing his insolent manner

【原文】

固不快。及见之，又倨，应侯因让之曰：“子尝宣言欲代我相秦，宁有之乎？”对曰：“然。”应侯曰：“请闻其说。”蔡泽曰：“吁！君何见之晚也！夫四时之序，成功者去。夫人生百体坚强，手足便利，耳目聪明，而心圣智，岂非士之愿与？”应侯曰：“然。”蔡泽曰：“质仁秉义，行道施德，得志于天下，天下怀乐敬爱而尊慕之，皆愿以为君王，岂不辩智之期与？”应侯曰：“然。”蔡泽复曰：“富贵显荣，成理万物，使各得其所；性命寿长，终其天年，而不夭伤；天下继其统，守其业，传之无穷；名实纯粹，泽流千里，世世称之而无绝，与天地终始：岂道德之符而圣人所谓吉祥善事者与？”应侯曰：“然。”

【今译】

来，就向应侯作揖。应侯本来不高兴，等见到他，又傲慢无礼，应侯就指责他说：“你曾经扬言想代替我当秦国宰相，难道有这回事吗？”蔡泽回答说：“对。”应侯说：“请让我听听您的说法。”蔡泽说：“唉！您怎么见识这么落后呢！四季的顺序，完成了各自的任务就离开。人活着身体各部位强壮，手足麻利，耳聪目明，心灵智慧，这难道不是士人的愿望吗？”应侯说：“是。”蔡泽说：“以仁德为本质，秉持正义，推行天道，施行恩德，在天下实现了自己的心愿，天下怀念、喜欢、尊敬、热爱他，都希望他作君王，难道不是才辩聪明的人的期望吗？”应侯说：“是。”蔡泽又说：“富贵显达荣耀，治理万物，使它们各得其所；性命长寿，享尽天年而不夭折；天下继承他的传统，保守他的基业，传到无穷；名实完全一致，恩泽流传千里，世代代称颂不绝，和天地始终：难道不是符合道德而且是圣人所谓的吉祥善事么？”应侯说：“是。”



Fan Sui, who was already displeased, demanded, "Is it true that you intend to take my place as prime minister of Qin?"

"That is correct," replied Cai Ze.

"May I ask how?"

"Why, how can you be so slow-witted? Just as the four seasons change, what has reached completion gives place to something new. What man does not want to be healthy and active, clear-sighted and sharp of hearing, with the wisdom of a sage?"

"Nobody," agreed Fan Sui.

Is it not the aim of a wise and eloquent man to be kind and just, do what is right, and achieve his ambition in such a way that the whole world loves, respects and honours him, and is eager to be ruled by him?"

Again Fan Sui agreed.

Cai Ze went on, "When a man has rank, riches, fame and honour, when he makes all things follow the proper course and lives out his full span of life, the world can carry forward and maintain his tradition. Such a man lives up to his name, his salutary influence spreads a thousand *li*, and later generations never cease to praise him. for he is as immortal as Heaven and Earth. Is this not the result of virtue, what the sages called beneficent goodness?"

Once more Fan Sui agreed.



【原文】

蔡泽曰：“若夫秦之商君，楚之吴起，越之大夫种，其卒然亦可愿与？”应侯知蔡泽之欲困己以说，复谬曰：“何为不可？夫公孙鞅之事孝公也，极身无贰虑，尽公而不顾私；设刀锯以禁奸邪，信赏罚以致治；披腹心，示情素，蒙怨咎，欺旧友，夺魏公子印，安秦社稷，利百姓，卒为秦禽将破敌，攘地千里。吴起之事悼王也，使私不得害公，才不得蔽忠，言不取苟合，行不取苟容，不为危易行，行义不辟难，然为霸王强国，不辞祸凶。大夫种之事越王也，主虽困辱，悉忠而不解，主虽绝亡，尽能而弗离，成功而弗矜，贵富而不骄怠。若此三子者，固义之至也，忠之节也。是故君子以义死难，视死如归，生而辱，不如死而荣。

【今译】

蔡泽说：“像秦国的商君，楚国的吴起，越国的大夫文种，他们的死难道也可以期望吗？”应侯知道蔡泽想拿话为难他，又硬说：“为什么不可？公孙鞅事奉秦孝公，终生没有二心，尽忠公家不顾私情；设置刀锯来禁绝奸邪，申明赏罚以达到太平；披露内心，展示情怀，蒙受怨恨，欺骗老友，捉了魏公子印，安定了秦国的社稷，为百姓谋利，终于替秦国擒获了敌将攻破了敌军，开拓土地千里。吴起事奉楚悼王，使私情不得妨碍公家，谗言不能掩盖忠言，说话不采取随便附和的态度，行为不采取随意宽容的态度，不因为危险改变行动，推行仁义不避艰难，可是为了使君王称霸，国家富强，他不避凶祸。大夫文种事奉越王，君王虽然处于困境，受到侮辱，而他全心尽忠不懈，君王虽然绝代亡国，而他竭尽才能而不离开，成就功业却不自大，富贵也不骄傲懈怠。像这三个人，本来是仁义的极致，忠诚的节操。因此君子因为仁义死难，视死如归，活着受辱不如死得光荣。士人本来应杀





"Is it good enough, in your view, to aspire to equal Lord Shang of Qin, Wu Qi of Chu, or Wen Zhong the minister of Yue?"

Aware that Cai Ze hoped to worst him in argument, Fan Sui deliberately countered, "Why not? When Lord Shang served Duke Xiao, he devoted himself completely to the state with no thought of private interest. He set up swords and saws to discourage evil-doers, made rewards and punishments certain in their application to bring about good government, took all blame upon himself and even deceived his old friend Lord Ang to make Qin secure and benefit its people, capturing the enemy general, defeating his army, and extending Qin's territory for hundreds of *li*.

"Wu Qi, when he served King Dao of Chu, never let his private interest interfere with the public interest, never let slanderers injure loyal subjects, never compromised in word or deed or modified his conduct in face of danger. He risked his own safety to do what was right, and braved calamity to make the state strong and his king a conqueror. Wen Zhong served the king of Yue with untiring loyalty through disgrace and trouble, straining every nerve and not leaving him when his king's position was helpless; he was neither puffed up by success nor did he relax his efforts when he grew rich and noble. Those three were paragons of virtue and justice. So a superior man who dies for justice looks on death as a homecoming and prefers death with honour to a life of disgrace. Indeed, some men have killed themselves to win fame, for an upright man can die without regret. Why should I not aspire to

【原文】

士固有杀身以成名，惟义之所在，虽死无所恨，何为不可哉？”

蔡泽曰：“主圣臣贤，天下之盛福也；君明臣直，国之福也；父慈子孝，夫信妻贞，家之福也。故比干忠而不能存殷，子胥智而不能完吴，申生孝而晋国乱，是皆有忠臣孝子，而国家灭乱者，何也？无明君贤父以听之，故天下以其君父为侮辱而怜其臣子。今商君、吴起、大夫种之为人臣，是也；其君，非也。故世称三子致功而不见德，岂慕不遇世死乎？夫待死而后可以立忠成名，是微子不足仁，孔子不足圣，管仲不足大也。夫人之立功，岂不期于成全邪？身与名俱全者，上也。名可法而身死者，其次也。名在僇辱而

【今译】

身成全名节，只要是仁义所在，就是死了也没有遗憾。为什么不值得呢？”

蔡泽说：“君主圣明，臣子贤良，是天下的洪福啊；君主英明，臣子正直，是国家的幸福；父慈子孝，丈夫诚实，妻子忠贞，是家庭的幸福。所以比干忠诚却不能保存殷朝，子胥聪明却不能保全吴国，申生孝顺可是晋国混乱。这些都是忠臣孝子，可是国家灭亡混乱的原因是什么呢？没有英明的君主、贤良的父亲来听从，所以天下人因为他们的君主、父亲被侮辱就怜悯他们的大臣和儿子。现在商君、吴起、大夫文种身为人臣，他们的行为是对的；他们的君王，就是不对的了。所以世人称他们三人立了功却不见有好报，难道羡慕他们没遇到好时候而死了吗？如果等待死后才能立忠成名，这样微子不足以成仁，孔子不足以成圣，管仲不足以成大人物了。人们建立功业，难道不期望成全吗？身和名一起保全，是上等。功名可以效法而失去性命，是其次。功名被侮





equal these three men?"

"A sage ruler and worthy ministers bring happiness to the world," replied Cai Ze. "An intelligent ruler and honest ministers bring happiness to the state. A kind father and filial sons, a faithful husband and a chaste wife, bring happiness to the family.

"Bi Gan, for all his loyalty, could not save the Shang Dynasty; Wu Zixu, for all his astuteness, could not preserve Wu; and Shen Sheng, for all his piety, could not prevent confusion in Jin. How was it that such loyal ministers and such a filial son could not save these states? It was because they had no intelligent sovereigns or worthy father to listen to them; and that is why the world condemns those and sympathizes with Bi Gan, Wu Zixu and Shen Sheng.

"Lord Shang, Wu Qi and Wen Zhong were good ministers, whose rulers were misguided. Thus men say they did great deeds which went unrewarded, but no one can admire their unfortunate deaths. If men could prove their loyalty and make a name by death only, Wei Zi would not be known for his humanity, Confucius acclaimed as a sage, or Guan Zhong admired for his greatness. A man who distinguishes himself is bound to hope to make a good end. The best thing is to live and win fame. The next best is to win fame and die. But worst of all is living on in shame."

【原文】

身全者，下也。”于是应侯称善。

蔡泽少得闲，因曰：“夫商君、吴起、大夫种，其为人臣尽忠致功则可愿矣，閼天事文王，周公辅成王也，岂不亦忠圣乎？以君臣论之，商君、吴起、大夫种其可愿孰与閼天、周公哉？”应侯曰：“商君、吴起、大夫种弗若也。”蔡泽曰：“然则君之主慈仁任忠，惇厚旧故，其贤智与有道之士为胶漆，义不倍功臣，孰与秦孝公、楚悼王、越王乎？”应侯曰：“未知何如也。”蔡泽曰：“今主亲忠臣，不过秦孝公、楚悼王、越王。君之设智，能为主安危修政，治乱强兵，批患折难，广地殖谷，富国足家，强主，尊社稷，显宗庙，天下莫敢欺犯其主，主之威盖震海内，功彰万里之外，声

【今译】

辱而性命保全的，是下等。”这时应侯赞同蔡泽的说法。

蔡泽稍稍抓住了空子，趁机说：“商君、吴起、大夫文种，他们身为人臣，尽忠立功就可以称心如愿了，閼天事奉周文王，周公辅佐周成王，难道不也忠诚圣明吗？从君臣之间评论，商君、吴起、大夫文种他们与閼天、周公相比哪一个值得羡慕呢？”应侯说：“商君、吴起、大夫文种不如他们。”蔡泽说：“既然如此，您的主上慈爱仁义，任用忠臣，笃念旧情，他的贤明智慧，和有道德的士人如胶似漆，讲义气，不背弃功臣，和秦孝公、楚悼王、越王相比，哪一个好呢？”应侯说：“不知道怎么样。”蔡泽说：“现在君王亲近忠臣，不超过秦孝公、楚悼王、越王。您的出谋划策能够替主上安定危局、修明政治，治理混乱、加强军队，排除祸患、克服困难，扩大土地、种植谷物，使国富民足，强化君主的权力，社稷受到尊重，光大宗庙，天下人没有敢欺侮、冒犯您的主上，君主的声威震动四海之内，功业显赫万里以外，声





Again Fan Sui approved.

Cai Ze took occasion to add, "Of course, we may emulate Lord Shang, Wu Qi or Wen Zhong, who were loyal ministers and achieved so much; but Hong Yao who served King Wen and the duke of Zhou who assisted King Cheng were loyal and wise ministers too. How do the other three compare with them?"

"The other three do not measure up to them."

"How does your king compare with Duke Xiao of Qin, King Dao of Chu and the king of Yue in benevolence? In his trust in loyal ministers, concern for old friends, respect for the able, close ties with the good, and fair treatment of deserving subjects?"

"That is hard to say."

"Your king is no better than Duke Xiao, King Dao of Chu or the king of Yue in his relation to loyal ministers. You, thanks to your wisdom, have saved the state from peril, reformed the government, settled disorders, strengthened the army, overcome calamities, removed dangers, extended the territory and increased the grain supply. You have enriched the country and people, making the sovereign mighty, the state exalted and the royal house glorious, so that no one in the world dares offend your king, whose might is felt far and wide, whose reputation has spread for thousands of *li* and whose fame will endure



【原文】

名光辉传于千世，君孰与商君、吴起、大夫种？”应侯曰：“不若。”蔡泽曰：“今主之亲忠臣不忘旧故不若孝公、悼王、句践，而君之功绩爱信亲幸又不若商君、吴起、大夫种，然而君之禄位贵盛，私家之富过于三子，而身不退者，恐患之甚于三子，窃为君危之！语曰‘日中则移，月满则亏’。物盛则衰，天地之常数也。进退盈缩，与时变化，圣人之常道也。故‘国有道则仕，国无道则隐’。圣人曰‘飞龙在天，利见大人’，‘不义而富且贵，于我如浮云’。今君之怨已仇而德已报，意欲至矣，而无变计，窃为君不取也！且夫翠、鹄、犀、象，其处势非不远死也，而所以死者，惑于饵也。苏秦、智伯之智，非不足以辟辱远死也，而所

【今译】

名光辉传到千秋万代，您和商君、吴起、大夫文种相比哪一个好？”应侯说：“我不如他们。”蔡泽说：“现在君王亲近忠臣，不忘旧情不如孝公、悼王、句践，而您的功绩和所受的偏爱、信任、亲近、宠幸又不如商君、吴起、大夫文种，可是您的俸禄职位又多又高，家产的富足超过这三人，可是您还没有退身，恐怕祸患比这三人还厉害，我私下替您觉得危险！常言说‘太阳到了正中就偏移，月亮圆了就亏缺’。物盛则衰，是天地的普遍规律。进退伸缩，随时代变化，是圣人通常的准则。因此‘国家政治清明就做官，国家政治混乱就隐居’。圣人说‘国君在位，利益体现在大官身上’，‘没有道义而得来的富贵，对我来说如同浮云’。现在您的仇怨已经报了，恩德已经报偿，心愿到顶了，却没有改变的打算，我私下认为您不应该采取这办法！况且翠鸟、天鹅、犀牛、大象，它们所处的形势不是不远离死地，可是却死了，其原因是被诱饵迷惑了。苏秦、智伯的聪明，不是不足以避



for ever. How do you compare with Lord Shang, Wu Qi or Wen Zhong?"

"I cannot compare with them."

"So your king falls short of Duke Xiao, King Dao and King Goujian in his treatment of loyal ministers and old friends, while your achievements and the trust and favour shown you fall short of those of Lord Shang, Wu Qi and Wen Zhong, although in rank and riches you surpass them. Obviously, unless you resign, you will meet an even worse end than these three men. My heart bleeds for you.

"The proverb says, 'When the sun reaches its zenith it must decline, when the moon is full it must wane, and what is ripe must decay.' This is a universal law. The sage's way is to advance or retreat, expand or retrench, according to the times. Thus Confucius said, 'When the True Way prevailed in his land, he served the state; but when the True Way ceased to prevail, he became a hermit.' The sage said, 'When a dragon flies through the sky, it will be beneficial to meet a great man.' Wealth and rank without justice are no more to me than floating clouds.' Now that you have avenged the wrongs against you and repaid your debts of gratitude, you have fulfilled your ambitions yet are not considering any change. To my mind, this is hardly worthy of you, sir!

"The kingfisher, swan, rhinoceros and elephant are eager to avoid death, yet perish at last because they are tempted by bait. Su Qin and Lord Zhi were astute enough to keep themselves from disgrace and

【原文】

以死者，惑于贪利不止也。是以圣人制礼节欲，取于民有度，使之以时，用之有止，故志不溢，行不骄，常与道俱而不失，故天下承而不绝。昔者齐桓公九合诸侯，一匡天下，至于葵丘之会，有骄矜之志，畔者九国。吴王夫差兵无敌于天下，勇强以轻诸侯，陵齐、晋，故遂以杀身亡国。夏育、太史噉叱呼骇三军，然而身死于庸夫。此皆乘至盛而不返道理，不居卑退处俭约之患也。夫商君为秦孝公明法令，禁奸本，尊爵必赏，有罪必罚，平权衡，正度量，调轻重，决裂阡陌，以静生民之业而一其俗，劝民耕农利土，一室无二事，力田畜积，习战陈之事，是以兵动而地广，兵休而国富，故

【今译】

开侮辱、远离死亡，可是他们却死了，其原因是在被贪图功利不止所害了。因此圣人制定礼仪，节制私欲，从百姓中取利有节度，使用民力按一定的时期，使用民财有一定止境，所以心志不能过分，行为不骄傲，经常合乎准则而不背离，所以天下继承他们的传统而不断绝。过去齐桓公九次会合诸侯，一次匡扶天下，到了葵丘会盟时，有了骄傲自满的心思，背离他的有好几个国家。吴王夫差的军队天下无敌，勇敢强大，轻视诸侯，欺凌齐国、晋国，所以就杀身亡国了。夏育、太史噉喝叱喊叫震慑三军，可是被庸夫杀死了。这些都是功名达到顶点，而不肯返躬自省究竟不合为人处事的道理，没有处在谦卑的位子、退到节俭地步而招致的灾祸。商君替秦孝公修明法令，禁绝奸邪的根本，重视爵位一定奖赏，有罪的一定惩罚，统一权衡，整饬度量，调节轻重，废除阡陌，以安定生养百姓的产业，统一他们的风俗，鼓励百姓耕种农业，利用土地，一家里没有两种事业，努力种田，积蓄财物，修习作战布阵之事，因此军队出动就能扩大土地，军队休养



death, yet they met their end owing to inordinate greed. A wise ruler establishes rites, curbs his desires, and is moderate in his levies on the people, whom he uses with restraint and in the proper seasons. His ambition has its bounds and his behaviour is moderate. Since he treads the right path and never diverges from it, his reign continues without interruption. Duke Huan of Qi united all the states and set the world in order, but because of his arrogance at the Kuiqiu conference nine states turned away from him. The troops of King Fucha of Wu were invincible, but he despised the other states because of his might and threatened Qi and Jin; finally he was killed and his state overthrown. The war-cries of Xia Yu and Taishi Jiao could strike dread into a whole army, yet both died at the hands of ordinary men. For all these in their triumph went to extremes and strayed from the proper path, not acting humbly or practising frugality and moderation.

“When Lord Shang served Duke Xiao of Qin, he clarified the laws, stemmed evil at its source, never failed to reward the worthy or to punish the guilty, unified weights and measures and abolished old boundaries. He gave the people a settled livelihood, did away with different local customs, encouraged men to farm and make full use of the land, forbidding any other occupations but toil in the fields to amass grain and military training. So when its troops marched out, Qin extended its territory; and when they were at rest, the country prospered.

【原文】

秦无敌于天下，立威诸侯，成秦国之业。功已成矣，而遂以车裂。楚地方数千里，持戟百万，白起率数万之师，以与楚战，一战举鄢、郢以烧夷陵，再战，南并蜀、汉。又越韩、魏而攻强赵，北坑马服，诛屠四十余万之众，尽之于长平之下，流血成川，沸声若雷，遂入围邯郸，使秦有帝业。楚、赵，天下之强国，而秦之仇敌也，自是之后，楚、赵皆慑伏不敢攻秦者，白起之势也。身所服者七十余城，功已成矣，而遂赐剑死于杜邮。吴起为楚悼王立法，卑灭大臣之威重，罢无能，废无用，损不急之官，塞私门之请，一楚国之俗，禁游客之民，精耕战之士，南收杨越，北并陈、蔡，破横散从，使驰说之士无所开其口，禁朋党

【今译】

国家也富强，所以秦国天下无敌，在诸侯中建立威望，使秦国的基业完成了。功业已经成就了，商鞅就被五马分尸了。楚国土地方圆数千里，拥兵百万，白起率领数万军队和楚国交战，一战便攻克鄢地、郢都，烧毁了夷陵，再战在南面吞并了蜀地和汉中。又跨过韩国、魏国攻打强大的赵国，在北面活埋了马服君的军队，屠杀了四十多万人，把他们全部消灭在长平城下，血流成河，沸腾的声音像雷鸣，接着进围邯郸，使秦国拥有了帝王基业。楚国、赵国是天下的强国，是秦国的仇敌，从此以后，楚国、赵国都慑服了，不敢进攻秦国，这是由于白起的威势。白起亲身征服七十多座城，功业已经成就了，却被赐剑在杜邮自杀。吴起替楚悼王制定法令，削减大臣的威势，罢免没有才能的，废黜没有用的，裁减不必要的官员，杜塞了私人的请求，统一了楚国的风俗，禁止游要好闲的百姓，精养耕种攻战的士民，在南面收服了杨越，在北面吞并了陈国、蔡国，破除了合纵连横的关





Thus Qin became invincible, striking awe into other states, and achieved its mission. But the man responsible for this was torn asunder by chariots!

"Chu had thousands of *li* of territory and a million halberdiers, yet Bai Qi with a few tens of thousands of men attacked it. In his first campaign he captured Yan and Ying and burned the royal tombs. In the second, having annexed Hanzhong and Shu in the south, he crossed the territory of Han and Wei to attack mighty Zhao, defeated the lord of Mafu in the north and massacred more than four hundred thousand of his troops at Changping. Blood flowed in torrents as, amid the thunder of battle, he advanced to besiege Handan and carve out an empire for Qin. Chu and Zhao had been powerful states and Qin's chief opponents, but these campaigns left them too cowed to fight back again. All this was thanks to Bai Qi, who conquered more than seventy cities. Yet in the end, in spite of these achievements, he was ordered to kill himself at Duyou.

"Wu Qi established laws for King Dao of Chu, curtailed the power of the ministers, dismissed incompetent and useless officials, abolished sinecures, ended nepotism, unified the customs throughout the land and checked travelling politicians. He trained peasants and soldiers, conquered the Yangyue tribesmen in the south and annexed Chen and Cai in the north. He destroyed hostile alliances, closed the mouths of wandering orators, prohibited rival factions among the people, reformed

【原文】

以励百姓，定楚国之政，兵震天下，威服诸侯。功已成矣，而卒枝解。大夫种为越王深谋远计，免会稽之危，以亡为存，因辱为荣，垦草入邑，辟地殖谷，率四方之士，专上下之力，辅句践之贤，报夫差之仇，卒擒劲吴，令越成霸。功已彰而信矣，句践终负而杀之。此四子者，功成不去，祸至于身。此所谓信而不能诎，往而不能返者也。范蠡知之，超然辟世，长为陶朱公。君独不观夫博者乎？或欲大投，或欲分功，此皆君之所明知也。今君相秦，计不下席，谋不出廊庙，坐制诸侯，利施三川，以实宜阳，决羊肠之险，塞太行之道，又斩范、中行之途，六国不得合从，

【今译】

系，使驰骋游说的人无法开口，禁止结党来鼓励百姓，安定了楚国的政治，军队震动天下，威势慑服诸侯。功业已经成就了，吴起却终于被肢解了。大夫文种替越王深谋远虑，免除了会稽的危险，在危亡中求生存，虽受辱但赢得了荣耀，除草垦荒，充实城邑，开辟土地，种植粮食，率领四方百姓，集中上下的力量，辅佐贤明的句践，报了夫差的仇，终于擒获了强大的吴王，使越王成为霸主。功业已经显明确实了，句践终究负心杀了他。这四个人，功业成就了却不离开，祸患到了这种地步。这就是所谓能伸不能屈，能进不能退。范蠡知道这些道理，超脱地避开世俗，长久作陶朱公。您难道没看到赌博的人吗？有的想投大注，有的想分次下注，这些都是您明白知道的。现在您当秦国的宰相，出主意不用下坐席，定谋略不用出朝堂，坐着就控制了诸侯，利益施及到三川地区，充实了宜阳，断绝了羊肠坂的险塞，堵塞了太行山的道路，又斩断了范氏、中行氏领土上的道路，六国不能合纵，



the government and with the might of Chu's arms struck awe into other states. But although he accomplished all this, he was finally dismembered.

"Wen Zhong made far-sighted plans for the king of Yue, rescued the state in its hour of peril at Kuaiji, saved it from destruction and turned disgrace into glory. He brought barren land under cultivation, repopulated whole districts, opened up new territory and started plantations, gathering men from all sides and uniting high and low. He assisted his good king Goujian to take revenge on King Fucha and finally conquer powerful Wu, making Yue a mighty state. Yet conspicuous as were his services, his ungrateful monarch killed him.

"Calamity befell these four men because they did not step aside once their work was done. They knew how to advance but not how to retreat, how to expand but not how to retrench. Fan Li, who knew better, withdrew from the court to live on as Lord Zhu of Tao. You must have observed how some gamblers stake all on one throw, whereas others divide their stakes. You know this well, sir. Now, as prime minister of Qin, you draw up plans from your seat and control the other states without leaving the court. You have opened up Sanchuan and strengthened Yiyang, cut the hazardous Yangchang route, blocked the Taihang road and obstructed the highways in Han (403B.C.-230B.C.), Zhao and Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) to prevent the six other states from forming an alliance against Qin. You have also made a plank-

【原文】

栈道千里，通于蜀、汉，使天下皆畏秦，秦之欲得矣，君之功极矣，此亦秦之分功之时也。如是而不退，则商君、白公、吴起、大夫种是也。吾闻之，‘鉴于水者见面之容，鉴于人者知吉与凶’。《书》曰‘成功之下，不可久处’。四子之祸，君何居焉？君何不以此时归相印，让贤者而授之，退而岩居川观，必有伯夷之廉，长为应侯，世世称孤，而有许由、延陵季子之让，乔、松之寿，孰与以祸终哉？即君何居焉？忍不能自离，疑不能自决，必有四子之祸矣。《易》曰‘亢龙有悔’，此言上而不能下，信而不能诎，往而不能自返者也。愿君孰计之！”应侯曰：“善。吾闻‘欲而不知止，失其所以欲；有而不知足，失其所以有’。先生

【今译】

栈道上千里，直通到蜀地、汉中，使天下都畏惧秦国，秦国的欲望达到了，您的功劳到顶了，这也是秦国分次下注的时候了。像这样还不退身，那么您就会是商君、白公、吴起、大夫文种的下场了。我听说，‘用水做镜子可以看见自己的面容，用别人做镜子能推断事情的吉凶’。《书经》说‘成功之下，不可久处’。这四人的祸患，您为什么要承受呢？您为什么不趁此时送还相印，让给贤德的人，您退身林泉，这样，一定有伯夷的廉洁的名声，长期享受应侯的爵位，世代称寡道孤，并且有许由、延陵季子让贤的美名，有王子乔、赤松子的寿命，和因祸患而终结的人相比哪一个好呢？现在您选择哪一种呢？留恋而不能自行离开，犹豫而不能自己决定，一定有这四人的灾祸。《易经》说‘龙飞到最高的地方，往下飞不可能，一定后悔’，这是说能上不能下，能伸不能屈，能进不能退的人。希望您仔细考虑！”应侯说：“好。我听说‘有欲望而不知满足，就会失去他的所有欲望；占有了而不





road a thousand *li* long through the mountains to Shu and Hanzhong, so that all the world trembles before the might of Qin. Qin has achieved its end and you can accomplish no more, for this is the time for Qin to divide its stakes. Now, unless you withdraw, you will meet with the same fate as Lord Shang, Bai Qi, Wu Qi and Wen Zhong.

"There is a proverb, 'Man's face is reflected by water, his fate is reflected by other people.' And it is written, 'Good fortune is short-lived.' Why should you court the disaster that befell these four men? Far better relinquish the prime minister's seal now to some worthy successor while you retire to live among hills and streams like a second Bo Yi. Then the title of Marquis Ying will be handed down for generations, you will be like Xu You and the prince of Yanling, who gave up thrones, and will live as long as Prince Qiao and the Master of the Red Pine. Surely this is better than disgrace and death? The choice is up to you. If you cannot bear to resign, cannot make up your mind, you will share the fearful fate of those four men. The *Book of Change* says, 'The dragon repents its height.' This refers to those who climb high and cannot come down, who are self-willed and cannot bend to circumstances, who go forward but cannot go back. I hope you will give this careful consideration."

"Well said!" approved Fan Sui. "I have heard that a man who cannot curb his desires will lose what he desires. One dissatisfied with what he has will lose what he has. I shall act on the good advice you have given me, sir." He entertained Cai Ze as an honoured guest.



【原文】

幸教，雎敬受命！”于是乃延入坐，为上客。

后数日，入朝，言于秦昭王曰：“客新有从山东来者曰蔡泽，其人辩士，明于三王之事，五伯之业，世俗之变，足以寄秦国之政。臣之见人甚众，莫及，臣不如也。臣敢以闻。”秦昭王召见，与语，大说之，拜为客卿。应侯因谢病请归相印。昭王强起应侯，应侯遂称病笃。范雎免相，昭王新说蔡泽计画，遂拜为秦相，东收周室。

蔡泽相秦数月，人或恶之，惧诛，乃谢病归相印，号为纲成君。居秦十余年，事昭王、孝文王、庄襄王。卒事始皇帝，为秦使于燕，三年而燕使太子丹入质于秦。

【今译】

知停止，就会失去他所有的占有’。幸蒙先生指教，我谨敬地接受指教。”于是就延请蔡泽入座，尊为上宾。

过了几天，范雎进朝，对秦昭王说：“有个新从轶山的东面来的游客叫蔡泽，这个人是个善辩的人，明白三王的事情，五霸的功业，以及世俗的变化，足以把秦国大政寄托给他。我看到的人很多，没有赶得上他的，我也不如他。我大胆地报告给您听。”秦昭王召见蔡泽，和他交谈，非常喜欢他，任命他作客卿。应侯就称病辞职，请求交还相印。昭王硬要留下应侯，应侯就称病更厉害。范雎被免去了宰相，昭王一开始就赞赏蔡泽的谋划，任命他作宰相，向东收服了周王室。

蔡泽当秦国宰相几个月，有的人讨厌他，他害怕被杀，就称病辞职交还了相印，被赐封号为纲成君。住在秦国十多年，事奉昭王、孝文王、庄襄王。最后事奉秦始皇帝，替秦国出使燕国，三年后燕国派太子丹到秦国作人质。



A few days later, at court, Fan Sui told King Zhao, "A certain Cai Ze, who has just come from the east, is a brilliant orator with such a thorough understanding of the Three Kings and Five Conquerors and the changes in human affairs that he can be entrusted with governing our state. Of all the men I have seen he is the ablest, and I beg to report that I am no match for him."

King Zhao summoned Cai Ze and was so much impressed by his conversation that he made him an honorary minister. Fan Sui asked leave to resign on the pretext of illness and, when the king urged him to carry on, insisted that his health was unequal to it. After Fan Sui's retirement the king, approving Cai Ze's plans, made him prime minister, and he annexed Zhou in the east.

When Cai Ze had held office for several months, he found that he had enemies and to avoid trouble retired on the grounds of illness, receiving the title of Lord Gangcheng. He remained for ten years and more in Qin, serving under the kings Zhao, Xiaowen and Zhuangxiang, and finally under the First Emperor. For three years he served as Qin's envoy to Yan and that state sent Crown Prince Dan as a hostage to Qin.



【原文】

太史公曰：韩子称“长袖善舞，多钱善贾”，信哉是言也！范雎、蔡泽世所谓一切辩士，然游说诸侯至白首无所遇者，非计策之拙，所为说力少也。及二人羁旅入秦，继踵取卿相。垂功于天下者，固强弱之势异也。然士亦有偶合，贤者多如此二子，不得尽意，岂可胜道哉！然二子不困厄，恶能激乎？

【今译】

太史公说：韩非子说“穿长袖衣服的人善于舞蹈，钱多的人善于做买卖”，这话确实啊！范雎、蔡泽是世上所说的一代辩士，可是游说诸侯的说客直到白了头也没有遇到知音，不是他们的计策笨拙，而是游说缺乏效力。等到二人旅居到秦国，相继取得卿相之位。功垂天下的原因，本来是强弱的形势不同。可是士人也有偶然遇到机会的，像他们这样贤能的人很多，但是不能称心如意，哪里说得完呢！可是这二人要是不受困厄，怎么能够奋发向上呢？



The Grand Historian comments: Well did Han Fei Zi say, "Long sleeves are good for dancing and much money is good for trade." Fan Sui and Cai Ze were great orators, who tried to impress different lords with their eloquence, yet had no luck until their hair turned white. This was not for any lack of eloquence, but because their prospective patrons were too weak. When they later went as strangers to Qin, each in turn became a minister and prime minister and accomplished great deeds known to all the world, due to the difference in Qin's relative strength. None the less, much depends on chance. For the number of men as able as these two whose ambitions were frustrated is past counting. It was desperation, moreover, that goaded them on.

¹ 271 B.C.

² There were no chairs in ancient China. People knelt down and sat on their heels, straightening up whenever there was need for ceremony.

³ 266 B.C.



廉颇蔺相如列传

【原文】

廉颇者，赵之良将也。赵惠文王十六年，廉颇为赵将伐齐，大破之，取阳晋，拜为上卿，以勇气闻于诸侯。蔺相如者，赵人也，为赵宦者令缪贤舍人。

赵惠文王时，得楚和氏璧。秦昭王闻之，使人遗赵王书，愿以十五城请易璧。赵王与大将军廉颇诸大臣谋：欲予秦，秦城恐不可得，徒见欺；欲勿予，即患秦兵之来。计未定，求人可使报秦者，未得。宦者令缪贤曰：“臣舍人蔺相如可使。”王问：“何以知之？”对曰：“臣尝有罪，窃计欲亡走燕。臣舍人相如止臣曰：

【今译】

廉颇，是赵国杰出的将领。赵惠文王十六年（公元前283年），廉颇为赵国领兵攻打齐国，大败齐军，攻取了阳晋，被封为上卿，凭借自己的勇气闻名于诸侯。蔺相如，是赵国人，是赵国宦官头目缪贤的家臣。

赵惠文王时，得到了楚国的和氏璧。秦昭王听说了，派人给赵王送了一封信，想用十五座城来换取和氏璧。赵王和大将军廉颇等诸位大臣商量：想给秦国，而秦国的城池恐怕得不到，白白地被欺骗；想不给，又害怕秦军来攻打赵国。计谋还没有定下来，想寻找一个可以出使答复秦国的人，没有得到。宦官令缪贤说：“我的家臣蔺相如可以出使。”赵王问他：“你怎么知道的？”回答说：“我曾经犯了罪，偷偷地计划想逃跑到燕国去。我的家臣



Lian Po and Lin Xiangru

Lian Po was an able general of Zhao. In the sixteenth year of King Huiwen,¹ he commanded the Zhao army against Qi and defeated its troops, taking the city of Yangjin. Then he was made a chief minister and was known for his prowess to all the states.

Lin Xiangru, a man of Zhao, was the steward of Mu Xian the chief eunuch.

King Huiwen had come into possession of the jade of Bian He, a man of Chu. When King Zhao of Qin knew this, he sent an envoy with a letter to the king of Zhao, offering fifteen cities in exchange for the jade. The king took counsel with General Lian Po and his chief ministers, who feared that if the jade were sent to Qin they might be cheated and get no cities in return, yet if they refused the soldiers of Qin might attack. They could neither hit on a plan nor find an envoy to take their answer to Qin.

Then Mu Xian the chief eunuch said, "My steward Lin Xiangru would make a good envoy."

"How do you know?" asked the king.

He replied, "Once I did something wrong and secretly planned to escape to Yan, but my steward stopped me, asking, 'How can you be

【原文】

‘君何以知燕王？’臣语曰：‘臣尝从大王与燕王会境上，燕王私握臣手曰“愿结友”。以此知之，故欲往。’相如谓臣曰：‘夫赵强而燕弱，而君幸于赵王，故燕王欲结于君。今君乃亡赵走燕，燕畏赵，其势必不敢留君，而束君归赵矣。君不如肉袒伏斧质请罪，则幸得脱矣。’臣从其计，大王亦幸赦臣。臣窃以为其人勇士，有智谋，宜可使。”于是王召见，问蔺相如曰：“秦王以十五城请易寡人之璧，可予不？”相如曰：“秦强而赵弱，不可不许。”王曰：“取吾璧，不予我城，奈何？”相如曰：“秦以城求璧而赵不许，曲在赵。赵予璧而秦不予赵城，曲在秦。均之二策，宁许以负秦

【今译】

蔺相如劝阻我，说：‘您凭借什么知道燕王会收留您呢？’我回答说：‘我曾经跟随大王和燕王在边境上会面，燕王私下里和我握手，说“希望结成好朋友”。因此我知道燕王对我很友好，所以想去燕国。’蔺相如对我说：‘赵国强而燕国弱，而您受赵王宠幸，因此燕王对您很友好。如今您是从赵国逃到燕国去，燕国害怕赵国，势必不敢收留您，而会把您捆着送回赵国。您不如光着膀子伏在刀斧砧板上请罪，或许能够免罪。’我听从了他的计策，大王您也施恩赦免了我。我私下里认为这个人是勇士，而且有智谋，应该可以出使。”于是赵王召见他，问蔺相如说：“秦王想用十五座城来交换我的和氏璧，可以给他吗？”蔺相如说：“秦国强大而赵国弱小，不能不给。”赵王说：“秦国拿了我的和氏璧，却不给我城池，怎么办？”蔺相如说：“秦国用城换璧而赵国不答应，理亏的是赵国。而赵国给了和氏璧秦国却不给城，理亏的就是秦国了。比较两个方面，宁可答应秦国而使他们承担理亏





sure of the king of Yan?' I answered, 'I met him at the frontier with our king, and he privately grasped my hand and offered me his friendship. That is how I know, and why I mean to go there.' Lin said, 'Zhao is strong and Yan is weak, and because you stood well with our lord the king of Yan desired your friendship. But if you now fly from Zhao to Yan, for fear of Zhao he will not dare to keep you and will have you sent back in chains. Your only possible way out is to bare your shoulder and prostrate yourself before the axe and block for punishment.' I took his advice and Your Majesty pardoned me. To my mind he is a brave, resourceful man, well fitted to be our envoy."

The king thereupon summoned Lin Xiangru and asked him, "Should I accept the king of Qin's offer of fifteen cities in exchange for my jade?"

"Qin is strong, we are weak," replied Lin Xiangru. "We cannot refuse."

"What if he takes my jade but will not give me the cities?"

"If we refuse Qin's offer of cities in exchange for the jade, that puts us in the wrong; but if we give up the jade and get no cities, that puts Qin in the wrong. Of these two courses, the better one is to agree and put Qin in the wrong."



【原文】

曲。”王曰：“谁可使者？”相如曰：“王必无人，臣愿奉璧往使。城入赵而璧留秦；城不入，臣请完璧归赵。”赵王于是遂遣相如奉璧西入秦。

秦王坐章台见相如，相如奉璧奏秦王。秦王大喜，传以示美人及左右，左右皆呼万岁。相如视秦王无意偿赵城，乃前曰：“璧有瑕，请指示王！”王授璧。相如因持璧却立，倚柱，怒发上冲冠，谓秦王曰：“大王欲得璧，使人发书至赵王，赵王悉召群臣议，皆曰‘秦贪，负其强以空言求璧，偿城恐不可得’。议不欲予秦璧。臣以为布衣之交尚不相欺，况大国乎！且以一璧之故，逆强秦之欢，不可。于是赵王乃斋戒五日，使臣奉璧，拜送书于庭。何

【今译】

的责任。”赵王说：“谁可以出使？”蔺相如说：“大王如果真的没有人，我愿意捧着璧出使秦国。秦国的城划归了赵国，我就把璧留在秦国；秦国的城如果没有划归赵国，我一定完璧归赵。”于是赵王就派遣蔺相如捧着和氏璧西行入秦。

秦王坐在章台接见了蔺相如，蔺相如捧着和氏璧奏见秦王。秦王非常高兴，把和氏璧传给美人和手下人看，手下人都高呼万岁。蔺相如看到秦王没有偿还给赵国城邑的意思，就走上前说：“璧有小斑点，请让我为大王指出来！”秦王把璧给他。于是蔺相如拿着璧倒退几步站住，靠着柱子，怒发冲冠，对秦王说：“大王想得到和氏璧，让人送信给赵王，赵王召集所有的臣下商量，都说‘秦国贪心，倚仗它的强大，用空话求璧，补偿城邑恐怕得不到’。想要不给秦国和氏璧。我认为平民百姓的交往尚且不可以相互欺骗，何况堂堂大国呢！况且因为一块璧的原因而惹得秦国不高兴，不可取。因此赵王就斋戒五天，让我捧着璧，在朝堂上叩



"Who can be our envoy?"

"If Your Majesty has no one else, I will gladly take the jade and go on this mission. If the cities are given to Zhao, the jade will remain in Qin. If no cities are given, I shall bring the jade back unscathed."

So the king of Zhao sent Lin Xiangru with the jade west to Qin.

The king of Qin sat in his pleasure pavilion to receive Lin Xiangru, who presented the jade to him. The king, very pleased, had it shown to his ladies and attendants, and all his attendants cheered.

Seeing that the king had no intention of giving any cities to Zhao, Lin Xiangru stepped forward and said, "There is a blemish on the jade. Let me show it to you, sir."

As soon as the king gave him the jade, Lin Xiangru retreated to stand with his back to a pillar. His hair bristling with fury, he said, "To get this jade, great king, you sent a letter to the king of Zhao. When our sovereign summoned his ministers to discuss the matter, they said, 'Qin is greedy and, relying on its strength, hopes to get our jade in return for empty promises. We are not likely to receive the cities.' They were against giving you the jade. It seemed to me, however, that if even fellows in homespun can trust each other, how much more can powerful states. Besides, how wrong it would be to offend mighty Qin for the sake of a piece of jade! So the king of Zhao, after fasting for five days, sent me with a letter and the jade to your court. Why? To show

【原文】

者?严大国之威以修敬也。今臣至，大王见臣列观，礼节甚倨；得璧，传之美人，以戏弄臣。臣观大王无意偿赵王城邑，故臣复取璧。大王必欲急臣，臣头今与璧俱碎于柱矣！”相如持其璧睨柱，欲以击柱。秦王恐其破璧，乃辞谢固请，召有司案图，指从此以往十五都予赵。相如度秦王特以诈详为予赵城，实不可得，乃谓秦王曰：“和氏璧，天下所共传宝也，赵王恐，不敢不献。赵王送璧时，斋戒五日，今大王亦宜斋戒五日，设九宾于廷，臣乃敢上璧。”秦王度之，终不可强夺，遂许斋五日，舍相如广成传。相如度秦王虽斋，决负约不偿城，乃使其从者衣褐怀其璧，从径道之，

【今译】

拜，送上国书。为什么呢？是尊敬大国的威严并表示敬意啊。现在我来了，大王在一般的宫殿里接待我，礼节很傲慢；拿到璧以后，传给美人看，来戏弄我。我看大王实在没有偿还赵国城邑的意愿，因此我又把璧取回来。大王如果一定要逼我的话，我的头今天就会和璧一起碎在这柱子上！”蔺相如拿着璧斜视着柱子，准备用璧击柱。秦王害怕他撞坏了璧，就道歉并再三请求，召集有司查看地图，指出从这里以外的十五座城给赵国。蔺相如揣摩秦王只不过是设计假装给赵国城邑，实际上赵国还是拿不到，于是就对秦王说：“和氏璧，是天下共同传扬的宝物，赵王害怕，不敢不献给秦。赵王送出璧时，斋戒了五天，如今大王也应该斋戒五天，设置九宾礼于朝廷，我才敢献上璧。”秦王揣度这件事，终究不可以强夺，于是答应斋戒五天，让蔺相如住在广成公馆。蔺相如估计秦王虽然斋戒，肯定会违背约定不给赵国城邑，于是让他的随从穿着粗布衣服，怀揣着和氏璧，从小道逃走，把和氏璧



the respect and awe in which we hold your great country. Yet on my arrival you received me in a pleasure pavilion and treated me with contempt. You took the jade and passed it among your ladies to make a fool of me. I can see you have no intention of giving Zhao those cities in return, so I have taken back the jade. If you use force against me, I will smash my head and the jade against this pillar.”

With that, glancing at the pillar, he raised the jade and threatened to smash it.

To save the jade, the king of Qin apologized and begged him to stop, then ordered the officer in charge to look up the map and point out the boundaries of the fifteen cities to be given to Zhao.

Lin Xiangru, thinking this was a subterfuge and that Zhao would never really get the cities, declared, “The jade of Bian He is a treasure known throughout the world, but for fear of Qin the king of Zhao dared not withhold it. Before parting with it he fasted for five days. So it is only right, great king, that you too should fast for five days and then prepare a grand court reception. Only then dare I hand it over.”

Since he could not seize the jade by force, the king agreed to fast for five days, during which time Lin Xiangru should be lodged in the Guangcheng Hostel.

Lin Xiangru suspected that despite his fast the king would not keep his promise to give the cities. So, dressing one of his followers in rags and concealing the jade on his person, he made him hurry back to Zhao by paths and byways.

【原文】

归璧于赵。

秦王斋五日后，乃设九宾礼于庭，引赵使者蔺相如。相如至，谓秦王曰：“秦自穆公以来二十余君，未尝有坚明约束者也。臣诚恐见欺于王而负赵，故令人持璧归，间至赵矣。且秦强而赵弱，大王遣一介之使至赵，赵立奉璧来，今以秦之强而先割十五都予赵，赵岂敢留璧而得罪于大王乎？臣知欺大王之罪当诛，臣请就汤镬，惟大王与群臣孰计议之！”秦王与群臣相视而嘻。左右或欲引相如去。秦王因曰：“今杀相如，终不能得璧也，而绝秦、赵之欢，不如因而厚遇之，使归赵，赵王岂以一璧之故欺秦邪！”卒廷见相如，毕礼而归之。

【今译】

送回了赵国。

秦王斋戒了五天后，于是设九宾之礼于朝廷，接见赵国的使者蔺相如。蔺相如来到，对秦王说：“秦国自穆公以来二十多个君主，不曾有坚守盟约的。我真是害怕白白地被欺骗而对不起赵国，因此让人拿着璧回去，从小道已经到了赵国了。况且秦国强大而赵国弱小，大王派一个使者到赵国，赵国马上捧着璧前来。现在以秦国的强大而先割让十五座城邑给赵国，赵国哪里敢留和氏璧而得罪于大王呢？我知道欺骗大王的罪应当杀头，我请求受汤镬之刑，希望大王和臣下们仔细商量这件事情！”秦王和群臣面面相觑，惊叹纷纷。秦王左右的人有的想把蔺相如拉下去。秦王于是说：“如今杀了蔺相如，也终究不能得到璧，而且断绝了秦国和赵国之间的友好，不如因此厚待蔺相如，让他回到赵国，赵王怎么敢因为一块璧的缘故而欺骗秦国呢！”终于在朝廷上接见了蔺相如，行礼完毕让他回国。



When the king of Qin had fasted for five days, he prepared a grand reception for Zhao's envoy.

Lin Xiangru, arriving, announced to the king, "Since the time of Duke Mu of Qin, not one of the twenty-odd princes of your state has kept faith. Fearful of being deceived by Your Majesty and letting my country down, I sent a man back with the jade. He should be in Zhao by now. Qin is strong and Zhao is weak. When you, great king, sent a single messenger to Zhao, we immediately brought the jade here. If your mighty state had first given us fifteen cities, we should not have dared offend you by keeping the jade. I know I deserve death for deceiving you and beg to be boiled in the cauldron. Consider this well with your ministers, great king!"

The king and all his ministers gaped at each other. Some attendants prepared to drag Lin Xiangru away, but the king said, "Killing him now will not get us the jade but would spoil our relations with Zhao. Better treat him handsomely and send him back. The king of Zhao dare not risk offending Qin for the sake of a piece of jade."

Thereupon he entertained Lin Xiangru in his court, dismissing him when the ceremony was over.

【原文】

相如既归，赵王以为贤大夫使不辱于诸侯，拜相如为上大夫。秦亦不以城予赵，赵亦终不予秦璧。

其后秦伐赵，拔石城。明年，复攻赵，杀二万人。

秦王使使者告赵王，欲与王为好会于西河外渑池。赵王畏秦，欲毋行。廉颇、蔺相如计曰：“王不行，示赵弱且怯也。”赵王遂行，相如从。廉颇送至境，与王诀曰：“王行，度道里会遇之礼毕，还，不过三十日。三十日不还，则请立太子为王，以绝秦望。”王许之，遂与秦王会渑池。秦王饮酒酣，曰：“寡人窃闻赵王好音，请奏瑟。”赵王鼓瑟。秦御史前书曰：“某年月日，秦王与赵王会饮，令赵王鼓瑟。”蔺相如前曰：“赵王窃闻秦王善为秦

【今译】

蔺相如已经回到赵国，赵王认为他是贤能的大夫，出使诸侯而不受辱，任命他为上大夫。秦国也不给赵国城邑，赵国最终也不给秦国和氏璧。

之后秦国攻打赵国，攻占了石城。第二年，再攻打赵国，杀死二万人。

秦王派使者告诉赵王，想和赵王在西河外的渑池会见言和。赵王害怕秦国，不想去。廉颇、蔺相如商量说：“大王不去，就表明赵国弱小而胆怯。”赵王于是前行，蔺相如跟从。廉颇送他们到边境上，和赵王辞别道：“大王前去，估计路程及会见礼节完毕，直到回来，不会超过三十天。三十天后不回来，就请让我立太子为王，以断绝秦国的贪心。”赵王答应了他，就去同秦王在渑池相见。秦王饮酒正酣，说：“我私下里听说赵王喜好音乐，请赵王弹瑟。”赵王弹瑟。秦国御史上前记载道：“某年某月某日，秦王与赵王一起饮酒，让赵王弹瑟。”蔺相如上前说：“赵王私下



The king of Zhao was so pleased with the skill with which Lin Xiangru had saved the state from disgrace that he made him a high councillor on his return. Neither did Qin give the cities to Zhao, nor Zhao give the jade to Qin.

After this, Qin attacked Zhao and took Shicheng.

The following year twenty thousand men of Zhao were killed in another attack. Then the king of Qin sent an envoy to the king of Zhao, proposing a friendly meeting at Minchi south of Xihe. The king of Zhao was loath to go, for fear of Qin. But Lian Po and Lin Xiangru reasoned with him saying, "Not to go, sir, would make our country appear weak and cowardly."

So the king went, accompanied by Lin Xiangru.

Lian Po saw them to the frontier, where he bade the king farewell saying, "I reckon that Your Majesty's journey there, the meeting and the journey back should not take more than thirty days. If you fail to return in that time, I suggest that we set up the crown prince as king, to thwart the designs of Qin."

The king, having agreed, went to meet the king of Qin at Minchi.

The king of Qin, merry after drinking, said, "I have heard that the king of Zhao is a good musician. Will you play the cithern for me?"

The king of Zhao did as he asked. Then the Qin chronicler stepped forward and recorded, "On such-and-such a day the king of Qin drank with the king of Zhao and ordered the king of Zhao to play the cithern."

Lin Xiangru then advanced and said, "The king of Zhao has heard that the king of Qin is a good hand at Qin music. Will you entertain us with a tune on the pitcher?"

【原文】

声，请奏盆缶秦王，以相娱乐。”秦王怒，不许。于是相如前进缶，因跪请秦王。秦王不肯击缶。相如曰：“五步之内，相如请得以颈血溅大王矣！”左右欲刃相如，相如张目叱之，左右皆靡。于是秦王不怿，为一击缶。相如顾召赵御史书曰：“某年月日，秦王为赵王击缶。”秦之群臣曰：“请以赵十五城为秦王寿！”蔺相如亦曰：“请以秦之咸阳为赵王寿！”秦王竟酒，终不能加胜于赵。赵亦盛设兵以待秦，秦不敢动。

既罢归国，以相如功大，拜为上卿，位在廉颇之右。廉颇曰：“我为赵将，有攻城野战之大功，而蔺相如徒以口舌为劳，而位居我上，且相如素贱人，吾羞，不忍为之下。”宣言曰：“我见相

【今译】

里听说秦王擅长演奏秦地的音乐，请献上盆缶给秦王演奏，来相互娱乐。”秦王发怒，不答应。于是蔺相如上前献上盆缶，又跪着请求秦王演奏。秦王不肯击缶。蔺相如说：“五步以内，我就要把脖子上的鲜血溅到大王的身上了！”左右的人想要杀蔺相如，蔺相如瞪眼呵斥他们，这些人都溃退下去。对蔺相如的做法，秦王很不高兴，只得敲了一下缶。蔺相如回头召来赵国御史记载道：

“某年某月某日，秦王为赵王击缶。”秦国的群臣说：“请赵国用十五座城邑为秦王祝寿！”蔺相如也说：“请秦国用咸阳为赵王祝寿！”一直到酒席完毕，秦王始终不能压服赵国。赵国又部署了大军防备秦国，秦国因此不敢轻举妄动。

会见结束后回到赵国，赵王认为蔺相如功劳很大，封他为上卿，职位在廉颇之上。廉颇说：“我担任赵国的将军，有攻城野战的大功劳，而蔺相如只不过以口舌之劳立了点功，而职位却在我之上，况且蔺相如本是卑贱之人，我觉得羞耻，不能容忍地位在





The king of Qin angrily refused. But Lin Xiangru went forward to present a pitcher and, kneeling down, requested him to play. Still the king refused.

"I am only five steps from you," cried Lin Xiangru. "I can bespatter you, great king, with the blood from your throat!"

The attendants wanted to kill him, but he glared and shouted so fiercely that they shrank back. Then the king of Qin sullenly beat once on the pitcher, whereupon Lin Xiangru turned to bid the Zhao chronicler record, "On such-and-such a date, the king of Qin played the pitcher for the king of Zhao."

Then the ministers of Qin said, "We hope Zhao will present fifteen cities to the king of Qin."

Lin Xiangru retorted, "We hope Qin will present Xianyang² to the king of Zhao!"

At this feast, then, the king of Qin was unable to get the better of Zhao. Nor dared he make any move because of the strong guard brought by the king of Zhao.

Upon their return to Zhao after this meeting, Lin Xiangru was appointed a chief minister for his outstanding service, taking precedence over Lian Po.

Lian Po protested, "As a general of Zhao I have served the state well in the field and stormed many cities. All Lin Xiangru can do is wag his tongue, yet now he is above me. I'd think shame to work under



【原文】

如，必辱之。”相如闻，不肯与会。相如每朝时，常称病，不欲与廉颇争列。已而相如出，望见廉颇，相如引车避匿。于是舍人相与谏曰：“臣所以去亲戚而事君者，徒慕君之高义也。今君与廉颇同列，廉君宣恶言而君畏匿之，恐惧殊甚，且庸人尚羞之，况于将相乎！臣等不肖，请辞去。”蔺相如固止之，曰：“公之视廉将军孰与秦王？”曰：“不若也。”相如曰：“夫以秦王之威，而相如廷叱之，辱其群臣，相如虽驽，独畏廉将军哉？顾吾念之，强秦之所以不敢加兵于赵者，徒以吾两人在也。今两虎共斗，其势不俱生。吾所以为此者，以先国家之急而后私仇也。”廉颇闻之，肉袒负荆，因宾客至蔺相如门谢罪，曰：“鄙贱之人，不知将军宽之至此

【今译】

他之下。”扬言说：“我见到蔺相如，一定羞辱他。”蔺相如听说以后，不肯和廉颇相见。每次上朝时，蔺相如常常称病不去，不想和廉颇争座次。不久后蔺相如外出，望见廉颇，蔺相如调转车子躲避。于是他的家臣们一齐劝说道：“我们之所以离开亲戚而来侍奉您的原因，是因为仰慕您的高尚节操。如今您和廉颇同朝为官，廉颇口出恶言而您畏惧躲避，非常害怕，常人尚且感到羞耻，何况将相呢！我们不贤德，请求告辞离去。”蔺相如坚决阻止他们，说：“你们看廉颇将军和秦王，谁更厉害？”回答说：“秦王厉害。”蔺相如说：“像秦王那样威风，我还当廷叱责他，羞辱他的臣子，我蔺相如虽然驽笨，难道单单害怕廉颇将军吗？只不过我考虑到，强大的秦国之所以不敢对赵用兵，只因为有我们两个人在。如今两虎发生争斗，势必不可能共存。我这样做的原因，是以考虑国家的安危在先而以自己的怨恨在后。”廉颇听说以后，光着膀子背着荆条，由宾客带着来到蔺相如家门口谢罪，说：“我是鄙



such a base-born fellow." He swore, "When I meet Lin Xiangru I shall humiliate him!"

When Lin Xiangru got word of this, he kept out of Lian Po's way and absented himself from court on grounds of illness, not wanting to compete for precedence. Once when he caught sight of Lian Po in the distance on the road he drove his carriage another way.

His stewards reproached him saying, "We left our kinsmen to serve you because we admired your lofty character, sir. Now you have the same rank as Lian Po, but when he insults you in public you try to avoid him and look abjectly afraid. This would disgrace even a common citizen, let alone generals and ministers! We are afraid we must beg to resign."

Lin Xiangru stopped them, asking, "Is General Lian Po as powerful in your eyes as the king of Qin?"

"Of course not," they replied.

"If, useless as I am, I lashed out at the mighty king of Qin in his court and insulted his ministers, why should I be afraid of General Lian Po? To my mind, however, were it not for the two of us, powerful Qin would not hesitate to invade Zhao. When two tigers fight, one must perish. I behave as I do because I put our country's fate before private feuds."

When word of this reached Lian Po, he bared his shoulders, fastened a switch of thorns to his back and had a protégé conduct him to Lin Xiangru's gate. He apologized, "Contemptible boor that I am, I could not understand your magnanimity, sir!"

【原文】

也。”卒相与欢，为刎颈之交。

是岁，廉颇东攻齐，破其一军。居二年，廉颇复伐齐幾，拔之。后三年，廉颇攻魏之防陵、安阳，拔之。后四年，蔺相如将而攻齐，至平邑而罢。其明年，赵奢破秦军阏与下。

赵奢者，赵之田部吏也。收租税而平原君家不肯出租，奢以法治之，杀平原君用事者九人。平原君怒，将杀奢。奢因说曰：“君于赵为贵公子，今纵君家而不奉公则法削，法削则国弱，国弱则诸侯加兵。诸侯加兵，是无赵也，君安得有此富乎？以君之贵，奉公如法则上下平，上下平则国强，国强则赵固，而君为贵戚，岂轻于天下邪？”平原君以为贤，言之于王。王用之治国赋，国赋大平，

【今译】

贱的人，不知道将军这样宽厚。”终于相互和好，结成生死之交。

这一年，廉颇向东攻打齐国，打败了齐国的一支军队。过了两年，廉颇又攻打齐国的幾邑，攻占了它。此后三年，廉颇攻打魏国的防陵、安阳，都攻占了。四年后，蔺相如领兵攻打齐国，到了平邑就撤军了。第二年，赵奢在阏与城下攻破了秦军。

赵奢，是赵国的田部吏。收租税而平原君家里不肯缴纳，赵奢依法办理，杀了平原君家里管事的九个人。平原君发怒，要杀赵奢。赵奢就劝说道：“您在赵国是贵公子，如今如果您放纵家里不奉公守法，法律就会被削弱，法律削弱了则国家就会被削弱，国家削弱了则诸侯就会对国家用兵，诸侯对国家用兵就没有赵国了，您哪里能再拥有这种富裕呢？以您这样尊贵的身份，奉公守法则国内上下公平，上下公平则国家强盛，国家强盛则赵国巩固，而您又身为贵戚，怎么能让天下人看轻呢？”平原君认为他很贤德，就向赵王推荐了他。赵王用他来治理国家的赋税，国家的





They became close friends, ready to die for each other.

That year Lian Po attacked Qi in the east and defeated one of its armies. Two years later he took another city of Qi. Three years later he stormed Fangling and Anyang in Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.). Four years later Lin Xiangru led an army against Qi, but withdrew after reaching Pingyi. The following year Lian Po defeated the army of Qin at Yuyu.

Zhao She was a tax-collector in Zhao. When Lord Pingyuan's family refused to pay the land tax, he punished them in accordance with the law, executing nine of their stewards. In his rage, Lord Pingyuan wanted to kill him.

Zhao She reasoned with him, "You are a noble of Zhao yet you flout the law, allowing your family to evade taxation. When the law is flouted, the state will grow weak and other states will invade and destroy us; and when Zhao is no more, what will become of your wealth? If you, a noble, pay taxes according to the law, society will be at peace, the state of Zhao will be strong and secure and you, sir, as a member of the royal house, will not be despised by the world."

Impressed by Zhao She's worth, Lord Pingyuan recommended him to the king, who put him in charge of the state revenues, and he managed these so well that the people prospered and the treasury was full.

【原文】

民富而府库实。

秦伐韩，军于阨與。王召廉颇而问曰：“可救不？”对曰：“道远险狭，难救。”又召乐乘而问焉，乐乘对如廉颇言。又召问赵奢，奢对曰：“其道远险狭，譬之犹两鼠斗于穴中，将勇者胜。”王乃令赵奢将，救之。

兵去邯郸三十里，而令军中曰：“有以军事谏者死！”秦军军武安西，秦军鼓噪勒兵，武安屋瓦尽振。军中侯有一人言急救武安，赵奢立斩之。坚壁，留二十八日不行，复益增垒。秦间来人，赵奢善食而遣之。间以报秦将，秦将大喜，曰：“夫去国三十里而军不行，乃增垒，阨與非赵地也。”赵奢既已遣秦间，乃卷甲而趋

【今译】

赋税从此非常合理，百姓富足，国库充实。

秦国攻打韩国，在阨與驻军。赵王召来廉颇问道：“可以救韩国吗？”回答说：“道路遥远，而且既险又窄，难救。”又召来乐乘问这件事，乐乘的回答和廉颇说的一样。再召问赵奢，赵奢对答说：“道路遥远而狭窄，就像两只老鼠在穴中相斗，将是勇敢的一方取胜。”赵王就任命赵奢为将军，出兵救韩国。

军队离开邯郸三十里，赵奢向军队下令说：“有敢为军事进谏的人处死！”秦军驻军在武安西边，秦军擂鼓呐喊，整顿军队，武安城的屋瓦都震动了。军中有个侦察员说应该火速救援武安，赵奢立即斩了他。赵军坚守营垒，停军二十八天不动，又进一步巩固了营垒。秦国的间谍来，赵奢好好地招待他吃饭，并打发他走了。间谍以此报告给秦军的将领，秦国的将军非常高兴，说：“离开国都三十里而军队不再前行，而增加营垒，阨與不会成为赵国的地方了。”赵奢已经遣返了秦国的间谍，就让军队卸去铠甲，



Then Qin invaded Han (403B.C.-230B.C.) and stationed an army at Yuyu. The king of Zhao summoned Lian Po and asked, "Can we go to their aid?"

Lian Po replied, "The road is long and over very mountainous country. It would be hard."

The king consulted Yue Sheng, who made the same answer. He then consulted Zhao She, who replied, "The way is far and lies through ravines. The combatants would be like two rats fighting in a hole — the braver would win."

Then the king ordered Zhao She to lead troops to rescue Han.

When the army was only thirty *li* from Handan, Zhao She issued this order: "Criticism of the plan of campaign will be punished with death."

The men of Qin were stationed west of Wuan. The roll of their drums when they drilled set the tiles on the roofs of Wuan vibrating. A scout of the Zhao army who urged that they should make haste to rescue the town was executed by Zhao She on the spot. Having fortified his camp, he stayed there without advancing for twenty-eight days, simply building more and more ramparts. When a Qin spy came to the camp, Zhao She gave him a good meal and sent him away. The spy reported this to his commander, who gloated, "Their army is only thirty *li* from their capital, yet already they have stopped to strengthen their defences. They will never recapture Yuyu."

After Zhao She had dismissed the spy, he commanded his troops

【原文】

之，二日一夜至，令善射者去阨與五十里而军。军垒成，秦人闻之，悉甲而至。军士许历请以军事谏。赵奢曰：“内之！”许历曰：“秦人不意赵师至此，其来气盛，将军必厚集其阵以待之。不然，必败。”赵奢曰：“请受令。”许历曰：“请就铁质之诛。”赵奢曰：“胥后令邯郸。”许历复请谏，曰：“先据北山上者胜，后至者败。”赵奢许诺，即发万人趋之。秦兵后至，争山不得上，赵奢纵兵击之，大破秦军。秦军解而走，遂解阨與之围而归。

赵惠文王赐奢号为马服君，以许历为国尉。赵奢于是与廉颇、蔺相如同位。

后四年，赵惠文王卒，子孝成王立。七年，秦与赵兵相距长

【今译】

快速前进，两天一夜赶到前线，让擅长射箭的士兵距离阨與五十里驻军。军队的营垒建成以后，秦国军队听说了，全军赶来。军士许历请求为军事进谏，赵奢说：“请他进来。”许历说：“秦国的军队没有料到赵国的军队到了这里，他们的来势很猛，将军一定要大量集中兵力等待他们。不然，一定会失败。”赵奢说：“我愿意接受你的建议。”许历说：“请处以杀头之罪。”赵奢说：“等回到邯郸之后再处理。”许历又请求进谏，说：“先占领北山的人一定取胜，后到的一定失败。”赵奢答应了，立即派一万人快速赶到那里。秦兵后到，争夺山头却攻不上去，赵奢派兵攻打，大败秦军。秦军解围离去，于是赵奢解了阨與之围回国。

赵惠文王赐赵奢封号为马服君，任命许历为国尉。赵奢因此与廉颇、蔺相如地位相等。

四年后，赵惠文王驾崩，儿子孝成王即位。孝成王七年（公元前259年）时，秦国和赵国军队在长平对阵，当时赵奢已经死了，





to advance in light marching order at full speed. In two days and one night he reached Yuyu and stationed his best archers fifty *li* from the city. No sooner had they dug in than the men of Qin, hearing of their approach, came in full force.

An officer named Xu Li asked permission to make a suggestion. When Zhao She had him brought to his tent, Xu Li said, "The men of Qin never thought we would get so far. They are in a confident mood. You must mass your troops to resist their attack, or we shall be defeated."

Zhao She replied, "I shall take your advice."

"I beg to die by the axe," said Xu Li.

"Wait until we get to Handan," was the answer.

Xu Li gave him some more advice, saying, "The first to take the North Hill will win. The late-comers will be defeated."

Again Zhao She agreed and sent ten thousand men to storm the hill. The troops of Qin, coming later, could not retake it. Then Zhao She launched an attack and inflicted a heavy defeat on the Qin army, which scattered and fled. Thereupon he raised the siege of Yuyu and returned. King Huiwen of Zhao made him the lord of Mafu and promoted Xu Li to be marshal. So now Zhao She ranked equal with Lian Po and Lin Xiangru.

Four years later, King Huiwen died and King Xiaocheng ascended the throne. In the seventh year of his reign, Qin fought Zhao at Changping. As Zhao She was now dead and Lin Xiangru mortally ill,

【原文】

平。时赵奢已死，而蔺相如病笃。赵使廉颇将攻秦，秦数败赵军，赵军固壁不战。秦数挑战，廉颇不肯。赵王信秦之间。秦之间言曰：“秦之所恶，独畏马服君赵奢之子赵括为将耳。”赵王因以括为将，代廉颇。蔺相如曰：“王以名使括，若胶柱而鼓瑟耳。括徒能读其父书传，不知合变也。”赵王不听，遂将之。

赵括自少时学兵法，言兵事，以天下莫能当。尝与其父奢言兵事，奢不能难，然不谓善。括母问奢其故，奢曰：“兵，死地也，而括易言之。使赵不将括即已，若必将之，破赵军者必括也。”及括将行，其母上书言于王曰：“括不可使将。”王曰：“何以？”对曰：“始妾事其父，时为将，身所奉饭饮而进食者以十数，所友者

【今译】

而蔺相如病得很厉害，赵派廉颇率军攻打秦国，秦军多次击败赵军，赵军固守营垒不出战。秦军多次挑战，廉颇不肯应战。赵王相信了秦国的反间计。秦国的奸细说：“秦国只是害怕马服君赵奢的儿子赵括做将军。”赵王于是任命赵括为将军，代替廉颇。蔺相如说：“大王凭名声来使用赵括，好比把弦柱用胶粘上再来弹琴。赵括只是能读他父亲留下来的书，不知随机应变。”赵王不肯听从，于是以赵括为将军。

赵括从小学习兵法，谈论军事，认为天下没有谁能比得上他。曾经和他父亲赵奢谈论军事，赵奢不能难倒他，却并不称赞他。赵括的母亲问赵奢是什么原因，赵奢说：“用兵，是出生入死的事情，而赵括说起来很轻松。假使赵国不用赵括做将军则罢了，如果一定要用他，使赵军被攻破的一定是赵括。”等到赵括将要出行，他的母亲上书给赵王说：“赵括不可以被任命为将军。”赵王说：“为什么？”回答说：“当初我侍奉他的父亲，当时身为将军，他亲自端饭招待吃喝的人数以十计，他友好对待的人



Lian Po led the troops against Qin. After several defeats he strengthened his defences and refused to give battle. Though repeatedly challenged by Qin, he would not fight.

Then a spy from Qin told the king of Zhao, "All Qin fears is that Zhao Kuo, son of Zhao She, lord of Mafu, may be appointed commander." Because the king believed this, he made Zhao Kuo take over Lian Po's command.

Lin Xiangru protested, "If you are sending him because of his father's fame, that is like playing the cithern with fixed frets. All Zhao Kuo can do is read his father's treatises: he has no idea how to apply or modify them." But the king did not listen to him and made Zhao Kuo commander.

Zhao Kuo had studied military science and discussed strategy since boyhood. He was confident that no one in the world was a match for him. Once he even worsted his father Zhao She in a discussion on strategy, yet he could not win Zhao She's approval. When Zhao Kuo's mother asked him why, Zhao She said, "War is a matter of life and death, but he makes light of it. I can only hope he never becomes our state's commander. If he does, he will destroy our army." So when Zhao Kuo was about to set out with his troops, his mother wrote to beg the king not to send him. Asked for her reasons, she replied, "When



【原文】

以百数，大王及宗室所赏赐者尽以予军吏士大夫，受命之日，不问家事。今括一旦为将，东向而朝，军吏无敢仰视之者，王所赐金帛，归藏于家，而日视便利田宅，可买者买之。王以为何如其父？父子异心，愿王勿遣！”王曰：“母置之，吾已决矣！”括母因曰：“王终遣之，即有如不称，妾得无随坐乎？”王许诺。

赵括既代廉颇，悉更约束，易置军吏。秦将白起闻之，纵奇兵，详败走，而绝其粮道，分断其军为二，士卒离心。四十余日，军饿，赵括出锐卒自搏战，秦军射杀赵括。括军败，数十万之众遂降秦，秦悉坑之。赵前后所亡凡四十五万。明年，秦兵遂

【今译】

数以百计，大王及宗室赏赐的东西他都给了下属军官和幕僚们，接受命令的那些日子里，不过问家事。现在赵括做了将军，就面向东方接受士兵们的朝见，将士们没有敢仰视他的，大王所赏赐的金帛钱财，都拿回去藏在家里，而每天去寻找便宜、合适的田宅，可以买的就买下来。大王认为他和他的父亲比起来怎么样？父子二人的心思不同，希望大王不要派他带兵！”赵王说：“你这做母亲的就不要管了，我已经决定了！”赵括的母亲于是说：“大王一定要以他为将，如果有了不称职的事情，我可以不受牵连吗？”赵王答应了她。

赵括代替廉颇做将军以后，全部改变了法令，更换了军吏。秦国的将领白起听说了，派出奇兵，假装兵败逃跑，而切断了赵军的粮道，把赵军一分为二，赵军士兵军心涣散。四十多天后，赵军缺粮挨饿，赵括派出精锐士兵亲自督阵搏杀，秦军射杀了赵括。赵括的军队大败，数十万士兵投降于秦，秦军把他们全部活埋了。赵国前后损失的士兵有四十五万。第二年，秦军围攻邯



I was first married to his father, who was then a commander, he offered food and wine to dozens of men at his meals and treated hundreds as his friends, distributing his gifts from Your Majesty and others of the royal house among his officers and friends. From the day he took the command he gave no further thought to family affairs. But as soon as Zhao Kuo became a commander he put on such airs that none of his officers or men dare look him in the eye. When you give him gold and silk he takes it home, and he looks every day for cheap property to buy. How does he compare with his father, would you say? Since father and son are so different, I hope you will not send him."

"Leave it to me," said the king. "I have made the decision."

Then she asked, "If you must send him, will you spare me from punishment if he does badly?" The king agreed to this.

After Zhao Kuo took over from Lian Po, he rescinded all previous orders and appointments. When General Bai Qi of Qin knew this, he made a surprise attack, feigned a retreat, cut Zhao's supply route and split the army into two so that both officers and men lost heart. When his army was starving some forty days later, Zhao Kuo led picked troops out to fight and the men of Qin shot and killed him. Zhao was defeated and hundreds of thousands of its men surrendered, only to be buried alive by Qin. In all, Zhao lost four hundred and fifty thousand men.

The following year the Qin army besieged Handan. For more than a year the capital was under siege and would have fallen if not for help



【原文】

围邯郸岁余，几不得脱。赖楚、魏诸侯来救，乃得解邯郸之围。赵王亦以括母先言，竟不诛也。

自邯郸围解五年，而燕用栗腹之谋，曰“赵壮者尽于长平，其孤未壮”，举兵击赵。赵使廉颇将，击，大破燕军于鄢，杀栗腹，遂围燕。燕割五城请和，乃听之。赵以尉文封廉颇为信平君，为假相国。

廉颇之免长平归也，失势之时，故客尽去。及复用为将，客又复至。廉颇曰：“客退矣！”客曰：“吁！君何见之晚也？夫天下以市道交，君有势，我则从君，君无势，则去。此固其理也，有可

【今译】

邯郸，长达一年有余，几乎难脱覆灭的结局。靠着楚、魏等诸侯派兵来救援，才得以解脱邯郸之围。赵王也因赵括的母亲有言在先，终于没有杀她。

自从邯郸之围被解五年之后，燕国听取了栗腹的计谋，说“赵国的壮年人都在长平死掉了，他们的孤儿都还没有长大”，发兵攻打赵国。赵国派廉颇为将军，还击，大败燕国军队于鄢，杀死了栗腹，于是围困了燕国。燕国割让了五座城邑请求和解，才同意燕国的求和。赵王把尉文邑赐给廉颇，封号为信平君，并代理相国。

廉颇从长平免职回来，失去势力的时候，原来的门客都离去了。等到重新起用为将军，门客又都回来了。廉颇说：“你们都退下吧！”宾客们说：“唉！您怎么明白得这么晚呢？天下是按照市场法则交易的，您有权势的时候，我们就跟从您，您没有势力的时候，我们就离开。这本来就是常理，您又有什么可以抱怨的呢？”



sent from Chu and Wei, who managed to raise the siege. Because Zhao Kuo's mother had warned him, the king of Zhao did not have her executed.

Five years after the relief of Handan, Yan attacked Zhao on the advice of its minister Li Fu, who said, "All the able-bodied men of Zhao were wiped out at Changping, and their orphans are not yet fully grown." But Lian Po as Zhao's commander utterly routed the men of Yan at Hao, killed Li Fu and laid siege to the capital of Yan. To make peace, Yan offered five cities which were accepted. Then Zhao gave Lian Po the district of Weiwen as his fief, making him Lord Xinping and acting chief minister.

When, deprived of his command, Lian Po had returned home from Changping, all his protégés had left him because he was out of power. Upon his reappointment they came back, but he ordered them away.

"Ah, how lacking you are in understanding," they told him. "All friendship in this world follows the rules of the market. When you have power we follow you, when you lose power we leave you. This is only natural. Why should you complain?"



【原文】

怨乎？”居六年，赵使廉颇伐魏之繁阳，拔之。

赵孝成王卒，子悼襄王立，使乐乘代廉颇。廉颇怒，攻乐乘，乐乘走。廉颇遂奔魏之大梁。其明年，赵乃以李牧为将而攻燕，拔武遂、方城。

廉颇居梁久之，魏不能信用。赵以数困于秦兵，赵王思复得廉颇，廉颇亦思复用于赵。赵王使使者视廉颇尚可用否。廉颇之仇郭开多与使者金，令毁之。赵使者既见廉颇，廉颇为之一饭斗米，肉十斤，被甲上马，以示尚可用。赵使还报王曰：“廉将军虽老，尚善饭，然与臣坐，顷之三遗矢矣。”赵王以为老，遂不召。

楚闻廉颇在魏，阴使人迎之。廉颇一为楚将，无功，曰：“我

【今译】

过了六年，赵国派遣廉颇攻打魏国的繁阳，夺取了它。

赵孝成王逝世，儿子悼襄王即位，用乐乘代替廉颇。廉颇生气了，攻击乐乘，乐乘逃走了。廉颇于是投奔到魏国的大梁。第二年，赵国又任命李牧为将军攻打燕国，攻下了武遂、方城。

廉颇居住在大梁很久了，魏国不能信任重用他。赵国因为数次被秦兵围困，赵王希望重新起用廉颇，廉颇也希望再次被赵国起用。赵王派使者去看看廉颇还能否任用。廉颇的仇人郭开给了使者很多黄金，让使者说廉颇的坏话。赵国的使者已经见到廉颇，廉颇为此一顿饭吃了一斗米，十斤肉，披甲上马，表示自己还可以被任用。赵国的使者回来报告赵王说：“廉颇将军虽然老了，但还能吃很多饭，但和我一起坐着，一会儿就拉了三次屎。”赵王认为廉颇老了，就没有征召他。

楚国听说廉颇在魏国，暗中派人迎接他。廉颇作为一个楚国



Six years later, Zhao sent Lian Po against Fanyang in Wei and he captured it. After the death of King Xiaocheng of Zhao, his son King Daoxiang came to the throne and made Yue Sheng take over the army command. Lian Po in his anger attacked Yue Sheng, who fled. Then Lian Po went to Daliang, the capital of Wei. The following year Zhao appointed Li Mu commander against Yan, and he took Wusui and Fangcheng.

Lian Po remained many years in Wei but was never trusted there or given a post. Because Zhao was so hard pressed by Qin, the king wanted to have him back. Lian Po too was eager to serve his own country again. The king of Zhao sent an envoy to see whether Lian Po could still command an army, but an enemy of his named Guo Kai gave the envoy a large bribe to slander him. When the envoy came to see him, Lian Po ate a whole peck of rice and ten catties of meat, then buckled on his armour and mounted his horse to show that he was still fit for active service.

On his return, however, the messenger told the king, "Though old, General Lian Po still enjoys his food. But in the short time I was with him, he went out three times to relieve himself." Then the king decided he was too old to recall.

When the men of Chu heard that Lian Po was in Wei, they secretly invited him to their state. But as a general of Chu he had no success and

【原文】

思用赵人。”廉颇卒死于寿春。

李牧者，赵之北边良将也。常居代雁门，备匈奴。以便宜置吏，市租皆输入莫府，为士卒费。日击数牛飧士，习射骑，谨烽火，多间谍，厚遇战士。为约曰：“匈奴即入盗，急入收保，有敢捕虏者斩！”匈奴每入，烽火谨，辄入收保，不敢战。如是数岁，亦不亡失。然匈奴以李牧为怯，虽赵边兵亦以为吾将怯。赵王让李牧，李牧如故。赵王怒，召之，使他人代将。

岁余，匈奴自来，出战。出战，数不利，失亡多，边不得田畜。复请李牧。牧杜门不出，固称疾。赵王乃复强起使将兵。牧

【今译】

将领时，没有什么功劳，说：“我想统领赵国的军队。”廉颇最后死在寿春。

李牧，是赵国北方边境上的良将。经常驻扎在代郡、雁门郡，防备匈奴。有权按照实际情况设置官吏，市场的租税都送到将军的帐下，作为士兵们的费用。每天杀几头牛犒劳战士，学习骑射，小心地看守烽火台，派出很多间谍，厚待战士。制定规矩说：“匈奴如果入侵骚扰，赶快进入堡垒防守，有敢捕捉俘虏的斩首！”每次匈奴入侵，都谨慎地点燃烽火，总是躲进堡垒防守，不敢交战。像这样过了几年，也没有什么损失。但是匈奴以为李牧胆怯，连赵国守边的士兵都这样认为。赵王责备李牧，李牧依然如此。赵王发怒，召回他，让别人替代他。

一年多后，匈奴每次来犯，赵军都出来交战。交战往往不能取得胜利，损失却非常多，边境地区不能种田、畜牧。又来请李牧做边境的将领。李牧闭门不出，坚决称病推脱。赵王则强迫他



sighed, "If only I had some men of Zhao under me!" He finally died in Shouchun.

Li Mu was an able general on Zhao's northern frontier, who remained in Yanmen in the land of Dai to guard against the Huns. He appointed officers as he saw fit and had all the market taxes sent to his headquarters to meet army expenses. He slaughtered several oxen daily for his troops, trained his men in mounted archery, kept the beacons in readiness, made full use of spies and treated his soldiers handsomely. He enjoined on his men, "When the Huns make a raid, withdraw quickly to the ramparts. Whoever dares engage the enemy will lose his head."

So whenever they were raided by the Huns, they lit the beacon fires and withdrew without fighting. This went on for several years, with no losses incurred. The Huns, of course, considered Li Mu a coward, while even his frontier troops thought him faint-hearted. But when the king of Zhao reprimanded him, he carried on as before. Then the king angrily recalled Li Mu, sending someone else to take over the command.

For over a year the Zhao troops gave battle every time the Huns raided, and were always defeated with heavy losses. The men of Zhao could no longer farm or breed cattle on the frontier. But when asked to go back, Li Mu shut himself behind closed doors, pleading illness, till the king ordered him to get up and take command.

【原文】

曰：“王必用臣，臣如前，乃敢奉令。”王许之。

李牧至，如故约。匈奴数岁无所得，终以为怯。边士日得赏赐而不用，皆愿一战。于是乃具选车得千三百乘，选骑得万三千匹，百金之士五万人，彀者十万人，悉勒习战。大纵畜牧，人民满野。匈奴小人，佯北不胜，以数千人委之。单于闻之，大率众来入。李牧多为奇陈，张左右翼击之，大破杀匈奴十余万骑。灭襜褕，破东胡，降林胡，单于奔走。其后十余岁，匈奴不敢近赵边城。

赵悼襄王元年，廉颇既亡入魏，赵使李牧攻燕，拔武遂、方

【今译】

再次担任将军。李牧说：“大王如果一定要使用我，我像以前那样，才敢奉命。”赵王答应了他。

李牧到了边境，按照以前的规定办事。匈奴几年来都没有什么收获，始终认为李牧胆怯。边疆的守兵每天都得到赏赐而没有作战任务，都愿意一战。这时李牧就挑选战车一千三百辆，选择战马一万三千匹，曾经获得百金之赏的战士五万人，能射箭的十万人，全部组织起来操练。组织大规模放牧，人民布满原野。匈奴小规模入侵，李牧假装不能取胜，把数千人丢给了匈奴。单于听说后，率领大军来侵犯。李牧设置了很多奇怪的阵法，从左右两翼攻打匈奴，大败匈奴，杀死匈奴十多万骑兵。灭了襜褕，攻破东胡，使林胡投降，单于逃跑了。这以后的十多年，匈奴不敢靠近赵国的边城。

赵悼襄王元年(公元前244年)，廉颇已经逃到魏国，赵国派遣李牧攻打燕国，攻下了武遂、方城。过了两年，庞煖打败了燕





“Very well, if Your Majesty insists,” he said. “But only if I can carry on as before.”

The king agreed to this. And Li Mu on his return used his old tactics. For several years the Huns could get no advantage, yet still they thought him a coward. And the frontier troops, daily rewarded yet kept out of action, were spoiling for a fight. Then Li Mu chose thirteen hundred chariots, thirteen thousand horsemen, fifty thousand brave fighters, and a hundred thousand archers. Having trained them well, he let cattle and men wander all over the plain. When the Huns made a small raid, he pretended to be defeated and abandoned several thousand men to the enemy. The khan of the Huns, hearing this, attacked in full force. Then Li Mu, resorting to unconventional stratagems, deployed both wings of his army in attacks from right and left and routed and killed more than a hundred thousand of the Hun horsemen. He wiped out the tribes of Danlan, defeated those of Donghu, and subjugated those of Linhu. The khan fled and for ten years and more dared not approach the frontier again.

In the first year of King Daoxiang of Zhao,³ as Lian Po had fled to Wei, Li Mu was sent to attack Yan and he captured Wusui and

【原文】

城。居二年，庞煖破燕军，杀剧辛。后七年，秦破杀赵将扈辄于武遂，斩首十万。赵乃以李牧为大将军，击秦军于宜安，大破秦军，走秦将桓齮。封李牧为武安君。居三年，秦攻番吾，李牧击破秦军，南距韩、魏。

赵王迁七年，秦使王翦攻赵，赵使李牧、司马尚御之。秦多与赵王宠臣郭开金，为反间，言李牧、司马尚欲反。赵王乃使赵葱及齐将颜聚代李牧。李牧不受命，赵使人微捕得李牧，斩之。废司马尚。后三月，王翦因急击赵，大破杀赵葱，虏赵王迁及其将颜聚，遂灭赵。

太史公曰：知死必勇，非死者难也，处死者难。方蔺相如引

【今译】

军，杀了剧辛。七年后，秦国在武遂击败并杀死了赵国的将领扈辄，斩首十万人。赵国就让李牧担任大将军，在宜安攻击秦军，大破秦军，赶走了秦国的将领桓齮。赵王封李牧为武安君。三年后，秦国攻打番吾，李牧击破秦军，还在南面抵挡韩国和魏国的军队。

赵王迁七年(公元前229年)，秦国派遣王翦攻打赵国，赵国派李牧、司马尚抵御秦兵。秦国送给赵王宠臣郭开很多黄金，施反间计，说李牧、司马尚想要谋反。赵王于是让赵葱和齐国的将领颜聚取代李牧。李牧不接受命令，赵王便派人暗地里逮捕李牧，并斩了他。废黜司马尚。三个月后，王翦乘机快速攻打赵国，大败赵军并杀死赵葱，俘虏赵王迁和齐国的将领颜聚，于是灭掉了赵国。

太史公说：明知要死那就一定要勇敢，死并不是很难的，对



Fangcheng. Two years later Pang Xuan defeated the army of Yan, killing Ju Xin. Seven years later Qin defeated Zhao, killed its commander Hu Zhe at Wusui and wiped out a hundred thousand men. Then Li Mu was made commander-in-chief to attack the Qin army at Yian, where he routed the men of Qin and forced General Huan Yi to flee. For this he was enfeoffed as lord of Wuan. Three years later Qin attacked Panwu, but Li Mu defeated its army and resisted Han and Wei in the south.

In the seventh year of King Qian of Zhao, Qin sent Wang Jian to attack Zhao, and Li Mu and Sima Shang were ordered to resist him. Qin bribed the king's favourite, Guo Kai, to act as its agent and slander both these generals by accusing them of plotting treason. Then the king of Zhao sent Zhao Cong and Yan Ju, a general from Qi, to take over Li Mu's command. When Li Mu refused to give it up, the king sent men to take him by surprise and kill him, while Sima Shang was also dismissed. Three months later Wang Jian routed the men of Zhao with a surprise attack, killing Zhao Cong and capturing King Qian and General Yan Ju. The state of Zhao was thus extinguished.

The Grand Historian comments: A man who knows he must die acts courageously, for it is not hard to die, only hard to face death. When Lin Xiangru prepared to smash the jade on the pillar and lashed

【原文】

璧睨柱，及叱秦王左右，势不过诛，然士或怯懦而不敢发，相如一奋其气，威信敌国，退而让颇，名重太山，其处智勇，可谓兼之矣！

【今译】

待死却很难。当蔺相如拿着璧斜视柱子，以及叱责秦王左右的臣子时，最严重的形势不过是被杀而已，可士人有的就因为懦弱而不敢发作。蔺相如一旦鼓足勇气，威风在敌国也得以传扬，回来后又谦让于廉颇，名气比泰山还重，处事的智谋和勇气，他可以说是兼而有之啊！





out at the attendants of the king of Qin, the worst that could befall him was death. Other men, of course, might have been paralysed with fear, but he summoned up courage to strike awe into the enemy. When later he gave way to Lian Po, he won a name for himself as great as Mount Tai. Truly he was a paragon of resourcefulness and courage combined!

¹ 283 B.C.

² The capital of Qin.

³ 244 B.C.



田单列传

【原文】

田单者，齐诸田疏属也。湣王时，单为临菑市掾，不见知。及燕使乐毅伐破齐，齐湣王出奔，已而保莒城。燕师长驱平齐，而田单走安平，令其宗人尽断其车轴末而傅铁笼。已而燕军攻安平，城坏，齐人走，争途，以辳折车败，为燕所虏。唯田单宗人以铁笼故得脱，东保即墨。燕既尽降齐城，唯独莒、即墨不下。燕军闻齐王在莒，并兵攻之。淖齿既杀湣王于莒，因坚守距燕军，数年不下。燕引兵东围即墨，即墨大夫出与战，败死。城中相与推田单，曰：“安平之战，田单宗人以铁笼得全，习兵。”立

【今译】

田单，是齐国田氏王族的远亲。齐湣王时，田单作临菑市场的掾吏，不为人所知。等到燕国派乐毅攻破齐国，齐湣王出逃，后来在莒城保守城池。燕军长驱直入平定了齐国，田单逃到安平，让他的同族人把他们的车轴的两头全都锯断，裹上铁箍。不久燕军攻打安平，城被攻破，齐国人逃跑，争道，因为车轴头撞折、车子毁坏，被燕军俘虏了，只有田单的同族人用铁箍裹住车轴头得以逃脱，向东退守即墨。燕国已经完全降服了齐国城邑，只有莒城、即墨没有攻下。燕军听说齐王在莒城，就合兵攻打他们。淖齿已经在莒城杀死了齐湣王，就坚守抵抗燕军，好几年没有攻下。燕国领兵向东包围了即墨，即墨大夫出来和燕军交战，战败被杀死。城中的人共同推举田单作长官，说：“安平之战，田单的同族人因为用铁箍裹住车轴头得以保全，他熟悉军事。”就



Tian Dan

Tian Dan belonged to a distant branch of the royal house of Tian in the state of Qi. During the reign of King Min,¹ he was a minor official in Linzi.

When Yue Yi, a general of the state of Yan, defeated the army of Qi, King Min fled from his capital to the city of Ju, while the soldiers of Yan advanced unopposed to conquer Qi. Then Tian Dan fled to Anping and ordered his clansmen to saw off the projecting ends of their chariot-axles and fit iron guards round the stumps. When the troops of Yan took Anping by storm, the men of Qi fled and, in the mêlée on the road, the other chariots' axle ends broke and their occupants were captured. Tian Dan and his kinsmen were the only ones to escape, thanks to their reinforced axles, and they went east to defend Jimo. Alone of all the cities of Qi, Ju and Jimo were holding out against Yan.

As the men of Yan knew that King Min was in Ju, they attacked the city in strength. Nao Chi assassinated the king and defended Ju stubbornly, holding out against the besiegers for several years. Yan's troops then marched east to lay siege to Jimo. Its governor going out to give battle was defeated and killed.

The defenders at once chose Tian Dan to lead them, saying, "In the battle of Anping, Tian Dan's kinsmen escaped because of the iron guards fitted to their axles. He understands warfare." They made him their commander to defend Jimo.

【原文】

以为将军，以即墨距燕。

顷之，燕昭王卒，惠王立，与乐毅有隙。田单闻之，乃纵反间于燕，宣言曰：“齐王已死，城之不拔者二耳。乐毅畏诛而不敢归，以伐齐为名，实欲连兵南面而王齐。齐人未附，故且缓攻即墨以待其事。齐人所惧，唯恐他将之来，即墨残矣。”燕王以为然，使骑劫代乐毅。

乐毅因归赵，燕人士卒忿。而田单乃令城中人食必祭其先祖于庭，飞鸟悉翔舞城中下食。燕人怪之。田单因宣言曰：“神来下教我。”乃令城中人曰：“当有神人为我师。”有一卒曰：“臣可以为师乎？”因反走。田单乃起，引还，东乡坐，师事之。卒曰：“臣欺

【今译】

立田单为将军，以即墨城防抵抗燕军。

不久，燕昭王去世，燕惠王继位，和乐毅有嫌隙。田单听说了，就派人到燕国去行使反间计，扬言说：“齐王已经死了，城邑没有攻下的只有两座了。乐毅害怕被杀不敢回来，他以伐齐为名，实际想联合军队在齐国称王。齐国百姓尚未归附，所以姑且缓攻即墨来等待他们归顺。齐国人害怕的，只担心别的将领过来，即墨就要残破了。”燕王认为对，派骑劫代替乐毅。

乐毅就归附了赵国，燕国士兵忿忿不平。田单就下令城里的人吃饭时必须先在庭院里祭祀他们的祖先，飞鸟都翱翔飞舞到城中下去啄食。燕军感到奇怪。田单就扬言说：“有神人下来教我。”就下令告知城里人说：“会有神人作我的老师。”有一个士兵说：“我可以作老师吗？”说完转身就跑。田单就站起来，招他回来，向东坐下，以对老师的礼节事奉他。士兵说：“我骗了您，





Soon after this, King Zhao of Yan died. His successor King Hui had an aversion to Yue Yi, and when Tian Dan knew this he sowed further dissension between them by declaring, "Qi's king is dead and only two of its cities remain to be taken. But Yue Yi dares not return for fear of punishment. Under the pretext of subjugating Qi, he is hoping to combine his forces with those of Qi and make himself king here. He is delaying his attack so that the men of Qi may come over to his side. The one thing we fear is that another general might be appointed, for then Jimo must be destroyed."

The king of Yan believed this and made Qi Jie take over Yue Yi's command, and Yue Yi went back to Zhao,² to the great indignation of the soldiers of Yan.

Then Tian Dan ordered the citizens of Jimo to sacrifice to their ancestors in the courtyard before each meal, so that birds flocked down to the city to find food, to the astonishment of the besiegers.

"I have been granted a divine revelation," announced Tian Dan. Then he told the citizens, "A man with supernatural powers will be our teacher."

"Can I be that teacher?" cried a soldier, and was running off when Tian Dan stood up and led him to a seat facing east, treating him as a teacher.

"I was fooling, sir," said the soldier. "I have no special powers."

【原文】

君，诚无能也。”田单曰：“子勿言也！”因师之。每出约束，必称神师。乃宣言曰：“吾唯惧燕军之剿所得齐卒，置之前行，与我战，即墨败矣。”燕人闻之，如其言。城中人见齐诸降者尽剿，皆怒，坚守，唯恐见得。单又纵反间曰：“吾惧燕人掘吾城外冢墓，侮先人，可为寒心。”燕军尽掘垄墓，烧死人。即墨人从城上望见，皆涕泣，俱欲出战，怒自十倍。

田单知士卒之可用，乃身操版插，与士卒分功，妻妾编于行伍之间，尽散饮食糒士。令甲卒皆伏，使老弱女子乘城，遣使约降于燕，燕军皆呼万岁。田单又收民金，得千溢，令即墨富豪遗燕将，曰：“即墨即降，愿无虏掠吾族家妻妾，令安堵。”燕将大喜，许

【今译】

我确实没有才能。”田单说：“您不要说了！”就尊他为师。每当发布号令，一定要称是神师的主意。于是他扬言说：“我们只害怕燕军把俘虏的齐国士兵割去鼻子，摆到最前列和我们交战，那么，即墨就败了。”燕军听说了，就按这话做了。城里的人看到齐军投降的人全都被割了鼻子，都愤怒了，严密防守，惟恐被俘虏。田单又派人反问说：“我们害怕燕军挖掘我们城外的祖宗坟墓，侮辱我们的先人，那可要为之寒心了。”燕军全部掘开坟墓，焚烧死尸。即墨人从城上望见，全都伤心流泪，都请求出战，愤怒增长十倍。

田单知道士兵可以使用了，就亲自拿着夹板铲锹，和士兵分头劳动，把自己的妻妾编到队伍之中，全部散发饮食来犒劳士兵。让披甲的士兵都埋伏起来，使老弱的人和妇女上城防守，派使者和燕军约定投降，燕军都高呼万岁。田单又收集百姓黄金，得到一千镒，让即墨的富豪送给燕国将领，说：“即墨将要投降了，希望不要掳掠我们几族人家的妻妾，让我们安居。”燕将大





"Hush!" whispered Tian Dan. He treated the man as a teacher with divine powers, and attributed all the orders he gave to his divine teacher. He also declared, "My one fear is lest the soldiers of Yan cut off their captives' noses and place these men in the front ranks against us. For then Jimo is doomed."

The men of Yan, hearing this, acted upon it. And when the defenders saw this mutilation of all who had surrendered, they were so angry that they resisted manfully, determined not to be captured.

To add fuel to the fire Tian Dan also said, "Heaven help us if the invaders dig up the graves outside the city and defile our ancestors!"

When the men of Yan dug up the graves and burned all the corpses, the defenders watching from the city wall wept with redoubled rage, longing to go out and fight.

Now that he knew that his men were ready for battle, Tian Dan himself set to work with them to repair the defences, enrolling his wife and concubine in the ranks and sharing all his food and wine with the soldiers. He ordered the men in armour to keep out of sight while the old, the weak and the women mounted the city walls and an envoy was sent out to treat for surrender. At this a great cheer went up in the enemy ranks.

Tian Dan collected a thousand *yi* of gold from the people and made some wealthy citizens present this sum to the enemy general, saying, "The city is about to surrender. We entreat you to spare our wives, concubines and kinsmen, and let us live in peace!" The Yan general very gladly agreed to this. And the invaders further relaxed their vigilance.

【原文】

之。燕军由此益懈。

田单乃收城中得千余牛，为绛缯衣，画以五彩龙文，束兵刃于其角，而灌脂束苇于尾，烧其端。凿城数十穴，夜纵牛，壮士五千人随其后。牛尾热，怒而奔燕军，燕军夜大惊。牛尾炬火光明炫耀，燕军视之皆龙文，所触尽死伤。五千人因衔枚击之，而城中鼓噪从之，老弱皆击铜器为声，声动天地。燕军大骇，败走。齐人遂夷杀其将骑劫。燕军扰乱奔走，齐人追亡逐北，所过城邑皆畔燕而归田单，兵日益多，乘胜，燕日败亡，卒至河上，而齐七十余城皆复为齐。乃迎襄王于莒，入临菑而听政。

襄王封田单，号曰安平君。

【今译】

喜，答应了。燕军因此更加松懈。

田单就在城里收集到一千多头牛，给它们披上大红绢衣，画着五彩的蛟龙花纹，在它们角上捆上兵刃，把灌满油脂的芦苇捆到牛尾上，点着芦苇的末梢。把城墙凿了几十个洞，夜里放出了牛，有壮士五千人跟在火牛后面。牛尾一经烧灼，牛就发狂奔向燕军，燕军夜里非常吃惊。牛尾的火把光明耀眼，燕军看到的都是蛟龙花纹，所触及的全都死伤。五千人趁机衔枚攻击燕军，城中跟着大声鼓噪，老弱的人都敲打铜器作声，声震天地。燕军很惊骇，溃败逃跑。齐军就杀死了燕将骑劫。燕军混乱奔跑，齐军追击逃兵，所经过的城邑都背叛燕国归顺田单，军队日益增多，乘胜追击，燕军日益溃败逃亡，终于到了黄河边，齐国七十多座城邑都又回归齐国了。就到莒城迎接齐襄王，进入临菑来处理政事。

齐襄王加封田单，封号叫安平君。





Then Tian Dan assembled more than one thousand bulls, swathed them in red silk, painted them different colours so that they looked like dragons, tied daggers to their horns and tied straw soaked in oil to their tails. At night the straw was set alight and the bulls were let out through dozens of breaches in the city wall. They were followed by five thousand stout fellows. Goaded into fury by their burning tails, the bulls charged the army of Yan, taking the invaders completely by surprise. The flaming torches on their tails cast a lurid light, and to the men of Yan the bulls seemed like so many dragons sowing death and destruction. After them rushed the five thousand, their mouths gagged, followed by the inhabitants, shouting and drumming. The old and infirm beat so loudly on copper vessels that the tumult shook heaven and earth. Yan's forces fell back in terror. And when their general Qi Jie was killed, the enemy fled in confusion, pursued by the host of Qi. Every town and city they passed threw off Yan's yoke and flocked to Tian Dan's support.

Tian Dan's ranks swelled after each fresh victory, as Yan's grew daily weaker. When at last the enemy was thrown back to the river,³ all Qi's cities — seventy and more — had been recovered. Then Tian Dan invited King Xiang back from the city of Ju to govern in Linzi, and the king enfeoffed him Lord of Anping.

【原文】

太史公曰：兵以正合，以奇胜。善之者，出奇无穷。奇正还相生，如环之无端。夫始如处女，适人开户；后如脱兔，适不及距：其田单之谓邪！

初，淖齿之杀湣王也，莒人求湣王子法章，得之太史嫩之家，为人灌园。嫩女怜而善遇之。后法章私以情告女，女遂与通。及莒人共立法章为齐王，以莒距燕，而太史氏女遂为后，所谓“君王后”也。

燕之初入齐，闻画邑人王蠋贤，令军中曰“环画邑三十里无人”，以王蠋之故。已而使人谓蠋曰：“齐人多高子之义，吾以子

【今译】

太史公说：用兵要一面和敌人正面交锋，一面出奇兵制胜。善于用兵的人，变化出奇没有穷尽。奇正循环相互转化，就像圆环没有起点和终点一样。开始时像处女一样沉静柔弱，使敌人门户洞开；然后就像脱逃的兔子一样迅速敏捷，敌人来不及抵抗：这就是说的田单吧！

当初，淖齿杀了齐湣王，莒城的人就寻找湣王的儿子法章，在太史嫩的家里找到了他，他在替人灌种园地。太史嫩的女儿怜悯他并对他很好。后来法章私下把自己的情况告诉了太史嫩的女儿，她就和他私通了。等到莒城人共同拥立法章作齐王，靠莒城抵抗燕国，太史嫩的女儿就成了王后，就是所说的“君王后”。

燕国当初攻入齐国的时候，听说画邑人王蠋贤良，就向军中下令说“围绕画邑三十里的地方不要攻进”，这是因为王蠋的缘故。不久派人对王蠋说：“齐国人多数称赞您的高义，我让您担任





The Grand Historian comments: In war, regular tactics are used to fight a battle and surprise tactics to win it. Skilled commanders show endless resourcefulness in devising an infinite variety of tactics, moving endlessly between regular and surprise ones. First passive as a young girl in face of the enemy, then swift as an escaped hare that cannot be overtaken — these were Tian Dan's surprise tactics.

Previously, when Nao Chi assassinated King Min, the citizens of Ju sought out the king's son Fazhang, whom they found working as a gardener for Taishi Jiao. The daughter of the family had taken pity on him and treated him well. He told her who he was, and they became lovers. After the citizens made him king of Qi to hold Ju against Yan, the girl became his queen with the title of Chief Lady.

When the forces of Yan first entered Qi, they heard that Wang Chu of Huayi was a virtuous man. An order was issued forbidding troops to go within thirty *li* of where he lived, and messengers were sent to him, saying, "The men of Qi speak so highly of your virtue that we



【原文】

为将，封子万家。”蠋固谢。燕人曰：“子不听，吾引三军而屠画邑！”王蠋曰：“忠臣不事二君，贞女不更二夫。齐王不听吾谏，故退而耕于野。国既破亡，吾不能存；今又劫之以兵为君将，是助桀为暴也。与其生而无义，固不如烹！”遂经其颈于树枝，自奋绝脰而死。齐亡大夫闻之，曰：“王蠋，布衣也，义不北面于燕，况在位食禄者乎！”乃相聚如莒，求诸子，立为襄王。

【今译】

将领，封您万户的领地。”王蠋坚决辞谢。燕国人说：“您要是不听从，我就领三军屠杀画邑！”王蠋说：“忠臣不事二君，贞女不更二夫。齐王没有听从我的进谏，所以我隐居起来在乡野耕田。国家已经破亡，我不能保存它；现在你们又劫持我作你们的将领，这是助桀为虐。与其活着不守道义，还不如烹了我！”就把头颈吊在树枝上，自己奋力把脖子扭断而死。齐国流亡的诸大夫听说了，说：“王蠋，是个老百姓，守道义不肯向燕国北面称臣，何况我们这些有职位吃俸禄的人呢！”就在莒城相聚，访求齐王的儿子，拥立他为齐襄王。



will make you a general with a fief of ten thousand households." When Wang Chu declined this offer, the envoys said, "If you do not agree, we shall bring troops to wipe out this district."

"A loyal subject cannot serve two masters, a chaste woman cannot change her husband," replied Wang Chu. "Since the king of Qi ignored my advice I retired to till the fields. Now that our land is conquered I have nothing to live for, and today you are trying to force me to be your general. If I consented, I should be aiding a tyrant. I would rather die in the cauldron than live without virtue."

He tied a halter to a tree and with one leap hanged himself.

When the ministers of Qi heard this they said, "Wang Chu was an ordinary citizen, yet he would not submit to Yan. What an example for those of us who have official positions and government emoluments!" So they went to Ju to find the prince and set him up as King Xiang.

¹ 323-284 B.C.

² His native state.

³ The north boundary of Qi.



吕不韦列传

【原文】

吕不韦者，阳翟大贾人也。往来贩贱卖贵，家累千金。

秦昭王四十年，太子死。其四十二年，以其次子安国君为太子。安国君有子二十余人。安国君有所甚爱姬，立以为正夫人，号曰华阳夫人。华阳夫人无子。安国君中男名子楚，子楚母曰夏姬，毋爱。子楚为秦质子于赵。秦数攻赵，赵不甚礼子楚。

子楚，秦诸庶孽孙，质于诸侯，车乘进用不饶，居处困，不得意。吕不韦贾邯郸，见而怜之，曰“此奇货可居”。乃往见子楚，说曰：“吾能大子之门。”子楚笑曰：“且自大君之门，而乃

【今译】

吕不韦是阳翟的大商人。往来各地，贱买贵卖，家产积累了上千金。

秦昭王四十年(公元前267年)，太子死了。秦昭王四十二年，让次子安国君作太子。安国君有二十多个儿子。安国君有个非常宠爱的姬妾，把她立为正夫人，号称华阳夫人。华阳夫人没有儿子。安国君排行居中的儿子名叫子楚，子楚的母亲叫夏姬，不受宠爱。子楚为秦国到赵国去做质子。秦国多次攻打赵国，赵国对子楚不很礼貌。

子楚，是秦王诸位庶出的卑贱孙子之一，到诸侯国作人质，车马财用，都不宽裕，生活穷困，不称心。吕不韦到邯郸做买卖，见到子楚，很怜悯他，说“此奇货可居”。就前往求见子楚，游说道：“我能够光大您的门第。”子楚笑着说：“暂且先光



Lü Buwei

Lü Buwei was a great merchant of Yangdi. He travelled about buying cheap and selling dear till he had amassed thousands of catties of gold.

In the fortieth year of King Zhao of Qin¹ the crown prince died. In his forty-second year, the king's second son Lord Anguo was made crown prince.

Lord Anguo had more than twenty sons. But his favourite concubine Lady Huayang, whom he made his chief wife, was childless.

Zichu, Lord Anguo's son by a secondary wife Lady Xia, who was not a favourite, was sent as a hostage to Zhao. Because Qin had attacked Zhao many times, Zichu was treated there with scant ceremony. As the son of a concubine sent as a hostage to another state, he was not well off for equipage and funds but had a poor time of it under hard conditions.

Lü Buwei, in Handan on business, saw the prince and pitied him. "This rare merchandise would be a sound investment," he said.

He called on Zichu and told him, "I can put you up in the world."

With a laugh Zichu retorted, "Put yourself up first, sir!"



【原文】

大吾门！”吕不韦曰：“子不知也，吾门待子门而大。”子楚心知所谓，乃引与坐，深语。吕不韦曰：“秦王老矣，安国君得为太子。窃闻安国君爱幸华阳夫人，华阳夫人无子，能立适嗣者独华阳夫人耳。今子兄弟二十余人，子又居中，不甚见幸，久质诸侯。即大王薨，安国君立为王，则子毋几得与长子及诸子旦暮在前者争为太子矣。”子楚曰：“然。为之奈何？”吕不韦曰：“子贫，客于此，非有以奉献于亲及结宾客也。不韦虽贫，请以千金为子西游，事安国君及华阳夫人，立子为适嗣。”子楚乃顿首曰：“必如君策，请得分秦国与君共之。”

吕不韦乃以五百金与子楚，为进用，结宾客；而复以五百金买

【今译】

大您的门第，再光大我的门第吧！”吕不韦说：“您不知道，我的门第有待于您的门第的光大。”子楚心里明白了他所说的话，就让他一起坐下，深谈起来。吕不韦说：“秦王老了，安国君被立为太子。我私下听说安国君宠幸华阳夫人，华阳夫人没有儿子，能够选立嫡子的，只有华阳夫人。现在您有兄弟二十多人，您又排行居中，不很受宠爱，长久在诸侯国作人质。如果大王去世了，安国君被立为王，那么您就几乎不能和长兄及各位早晚都守在国君跟前的兄弟们争立为太子啊。”子楚说：“对。怎么办？”吕不韦说：“您贫穷，在此地作客，没有奉献给亲友及结交宾客的东西。我虽然贫穷，愿意拿出千金替您西游，服事安国君及华阳夫人，使他们立您为嫡子。”子楚就磕头道：“如果真像您的计策那样，我愿意和您一起分享秦国。”

吕不韦就把五百金给了子楚，作为费用，用来结交宾客；又



"You do not understand," replied Lü Buwei. "I depend on you for that."

Then Zichu caught his meaning, made him take a seat and had a frank talk with him.

"The king of Qin is old and Lord Anguo is crown prince," said Lü Buwei. "I hear that Lord Anguo loves Lady Huayang, who is childless, and that she alone can appoint a successor to him. You have more than twenty brothers, are neither the senior nor the most favoured among them, and have long been a hostage in another state. When the king dies and Lord Anguo ascends the throne, what chance have you of becoming crown prince compared with your eldest brother and the others who are before him day and night?"

"True. But what can I do?" asked Zichu.

"You are poor and a stranger here," replied Lü Buwei, "without the means to present gifts to your relatives or to win protégés. Although I am poor myself, let me travel west for you with a thousand pieces of gold to persuade Lord Anguo and Lady Huayang to make you their heir."

Zichu bowed at that and said, "If your plan succeeds, sir, you must let me divide Qin and share the state with you."

Then Lü Buwei gave Zichu five hundred pieces of gold as spending money to win protégés, and laid out another five hundred on rare

【原文】

奇物玩好，自奉而西游秦，求见华阳夫人姊，而皆以其物献华阳夫人。因言子楚贤智，结诸侯宾客遍天下，常曰“楚也以夫人为天，日夜泣思太子及夫人”。夫人大喜。不韦因使其姊说夫人曰：“吾闻之，以色事人者，色衰而爱弛。今夫人事太子，甚爱而无子，不以此时蚤自结于诸子中贤孝者，举立以为适而子之，夫在则重尊，夫百岁之后，所子者为王，终不失势，此所谓一言而万世之利也。不以繁华时树本，即色衰爱弛后，虽欲开一语，尚可得乎？今子楚贤，而自知中男也，次不得为适，其母又不得幸，自附夫人，夫人诚以此时拔以为适，夫人则竟世有宠于秦矣。”华阳夫人以为然，

【今译】

用五百金买了奇珍异宝，自己拿着向西游历秦国，求见华阳夫人的姐姐，把这些东西都献给了华阳夫人。顺便说子楚贤明智慧，结交各国的宾客遍天下，经常说“我子楚把夫人看作上天，日夜流泪思念太子及夫人”。夫人很高兴。吕不韦就让华阳夫人的姐姐劝说华阳夫人道：“我听说，靠姿色来侍奉人的，姿色衰老宠爱就减弱了。现在夫人侍奉太子，非常受宠爱却没有儿子，不如趁这时候早点结识各位儿子中贤良孝顺的，推举选立他作嫡子，看作亲子，那么丈夫在时就更加尊贵，丈夫死后，所亲的儿子被立为王，终究没有失去权势，这就是所谓靠一句话就得到万世的利益。不趁繁华的时候树立根本，如果姿色衰老宠爱减退后，即使想开口说一句话，还可能吗？现在子楚贤明，自己也知道是排行居中的儿子，按长幼次序他不能作嫡子，他的母亲又不受宠幸，他亲自攀附夫人，夫人如果真趁此时抬举他作嫡子，夫人就终生都受到秦国的爱戴了。”华阳夫人认为对，趁太子空闲时，不慌不





objects and trinkets for gifts. He travelled west to Qin, obtained an interview with Lady Huayang's elder sister and presented all his gifts to Lady Huayang. He spoke of Zichu's worth and wisdom, the friends he had in all the different states, and how often he said, "I look on Lady Huayang as Providence. Day and night I shed tears thinking of the crown prince and her ladyship." The lady was highly delighted.

And so Lü Buwei induced Lady Huayang's sister to advise her, "I have heard that favour won by beauty will cease once beauty fades. Now you serve the crown prince, who loves you dearly although you are childless. If you attach yourself in good time to one of his sons who is able and filial, making him the heir and adopting him as your son, as long as your husband lives you will be respected, and after his death when your adopted son becomes king you will not lose your power. This is what is known as 'lasting gain resulting from one single word.' While you are still blooming you must provide for the future, for once your beauty has faded and his love has died it will be too late to speak. Now Zichu is a worthy youth, but he knows that as a concubine's son he has no claim to the succession; and since his mother is not a favourite he has attached himself to you. If you really have him appointed as successor now, you will be favoured in Qin so long as you live."

Lady Huayang approved and, when the crown prince was at leisure, told him blandly that Zichu, now a hostage in Zhao, was a most worthy youth praised by all who had travelled that way. Then with tears she



【原文】

承太子间，从容言子楚质于赵者绝贤，来往者皆称誉之。乃因涕泣曰：“妾幸得充后宫，不幸无子，愿得子楚立以为适嗣，以托妾身。”安国君许之，乃与夫人刻玉符，约以为适嗣。安国君及夫人因厚馈遗子楚，而请吕不韦傅之，子楚以此名誉益盛于诸侯。

吕不韦取邯郸诸姬绝好善舞者与居，知有身。子楚从不韦饮，见而说之，因起为寿，请之。吕不韦怒，念业已破家为子楚，欲以钓奇，乃遂献其姬。姬自匿有身，至大期时，生子政。子楚遂立姬为夫人。

秦昭王五十年，使王齕围邯郸，急，赵欲杀子楚。子楚与吕不韦谋，行金六百斤予守者吏，得脱，亡赴秦军，遂以得归。赵欲杀

【今译】

忙地说起子楚到赵国作人质时非常贤明，来往的人都称誉他。接着哭泣道：“我有幸被充在后宫，不幸的是没有儿子，希望能让子楚立为嫡子，使我有个依靠。”安国君答应了，就和夫人刻下玉符，约定立子楚作嫡子。安国君及夫人接着就给子楚送了丰厚的财物，请吕不韦作子楚的老师，因此，子楚的名望在诸侯中更加传开了。

吕不韦娶了邯郸最漂亮的又善于跳舞的女子，和她同居，知道她有了身孕。子楚和吕不韦一起喝酒，看到她并喜欢上了，就起来向吕不韦祝寿，请求得到这女子。吕不韦恼怒了，想到既然已经替子楚破了家，想用这手段来钓取奇货，就献出了她的姬妾。这个姬妾自己隐瞒有了身孕，到了十二月时，生下儿子嬴政。子楚就立她为夫人。

秦昭王五十年（公元前257年），派王齕围攻邯郸，形势紧急，赵国想杀了子楚。子楚和吕不韦商议，向看守子楚的官吏行贿了六百斤黄金，才得以逃脱，跑到秦军中，因而回到了秦国。



said, "I am lucky to be one of your concubines, but unlucky to have no son. Will you make Zichu your heir, so that I may have someone to rely on?"

Lord Anguo agreed and gave her an engraved jade tally as a pledge that Zichu should succeed him. Then Lord Anguo and Lady Huayang sent rich presents to Zichu and asked Lü Buwei to be his tutor. After this, Zichu's fame spread through the different states.

Lü Buwei had taken as his mistress the best dancer and prettiest courtesan in Handan, and now she was with child. Zichu saw her one day when he was with Lü Buwei, and took a fancy to her. Rising to offer a toast, he asked if he might have her. Lü Buwei was very angry, but reflecting that he had nearly beggared his family for Zichu in the hope of fabulous returns, he gave him the girl, who concealed the fact that she was pregnant. When her time came she gave birth to a son, Zheng. Then Zichu made her his wife.

In the fiftieth year of King Zhao of Qin, Wang Yi was sent to lay fierce siege to Handan and the men of Zhao wanted to kill Zichu. But he consulted Lü Buwei and contrived to escape by bribing his guard with six hundred pieces of gold. He fled to the Qin army, then returned home. The men of Zhao wanted to kill his wife, but since she



【原文】

子楚妻子，子楚夫人赵豪家女也，得匿，以故母子竟得活。秦昭王五十六年，薨，太子安国君立为王，华阳夫人为王后，子楚为太子。赵亦奉子楚夫人及子政归秦。

秦王立一年，薨，谥为孝文王。太子子楚代立，是为庄襄王。庄襄王所养母华阳后为华阳太后，真母夏姬尊以为夏太后。庄襄王元年，以吕不韦为丞相，封为文信侯，食河南洛阳十万户。

庄襄王即位三年，薨，太子政立为王，尊吕不韦为相国，号称“仲父”。秦王年少，太后时时窃私通吕不韦。不韦家僮万人。

当是时，魏有信陵君，楚有春申君，赵有平原君，齐有孟尝君，皆下士喜宾客以相倾。吕不韦以秦之强，羞不如，亦招致

【今译】

赵国想杀子楚的妻子儿子，子楚夫人是赵国富豪人家的女儿，得以躲起来，因此母子竟然得以活命。秦昭王五十六年，他去世了，太子安国君被立为秦王，华阳夫人为王后，子楚为太子。赵国也送子楚的夫人和儿子嬴政回到秦国。

秦王继位一年，去世了，被谥为孝文王。太子子楚继位，这就是庄襄王。庄襄王拜认的母亲华阳后被尊为华阳太后，生母夏姬被尊为夏太后。庄襄王元年（公元前249年），让吕不韦作丞相，封为文信侯，把河南洛阳的十万户作为他的封地。

庄襄王登位三年，去世，太子嬴政继位为王，尊奉吕不韦为相国，号称“仲父”。秦王年幼，太后经常和吕不韦私通。吕不韦有奴婢上万人。

在这时候，魏国有信陵君，楚国有春申君，赵国有平原君，齐国有孟尝君，都尊重士人喜好接纳宾客以此来互相竞争。吕不韦凭着秦国的强大，羞愧不如他们，也招致士人，优厚地对待他



came of a wealthy Zhao family she succeeded in hiding herself. In this way both mother and child escaped with their lives.

In the fifty-sixth year of his reign, King Zhao of Qin died. Lord Anguo became king with Lady Huayang as his queen and Zichu as crown prince. Zhao sent Zichu's wife and son Zheng back to Qin.

After a reign of one year the king of Qin died and was posthumously entitled King Xiaowen. The crown prince, Zichu, succeeded him as King Zhuangxiang. His foster-mother, Queen Huayang, became Queen-Dowager Huayang, while his own mother Lady Xia was honoured with the title Queen-Dowager Xia.

In the first year of his reign, King Zhuangxiang appointed Lü Buwei his assistant chancellor. He was enfeoffed as marquis of Wenxin and given the revenues of a hundred thousand households in Henan and Luoyang.

After a reign of three years King Zhuangxiang died and the crown prince, Zheng, became king. He honoured Lü Buwei by appointing him chancellor with the title of 'Second Father'. The king was still young and the queen-dowager maintained illicit relations with Lü Buwei.

Lü Buwei had as many as ten thousand household slaves. At this time Lord Xinling in Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.), Lord Chunshen in Chu, Lord Pingyuan in Zhao and Lord Mengchang in Qi were all great patrons who vied in keeping protégés. Thinking it would be shameful

【原文】

士，厚遇之，至食客三千人。是时诸侯多辩士，如荀卿之徒，著书布天下。吕不韦乃使其客人人著所闻，集论以为八览、六论、十二纪，二十余万言。以为备天地万物古今之事，号曰《吕氏春秋》。布咸阳市门，悬千金其上，延诸侯游士宾客有能增损一字者予千金。

始皇帝益壮，太后淫不止。吕不韦恐觉祸及己，乃私求大阴人嫪毐以为舍人，时纵倡乐，使嫪毐以其阴关桐轮而行，令太后闻之，以啖太后。太后闻，果欲私得之。吕不韦乃进嫪毐，诈令人以腐罪告之。不韦又阴谓太后曰：“可事诈腐，则得给事中。”太后乃阴厚赐主腐者吏，诈论之，拔其须眉为宦者，遂得侍太后。太后私与通，绝爱

【今译】

们，至于有食客三千人。这时诸侯有很多善辩的人，如荀卿这些人，著书遍布天下。吕不韦就让他门客人人都写下自己的见闻，把言论汇集起来成为八览、六论、十二纪，有二十多万字。认为此书包罗天地万物上下古今的事理，称为《吕氏春秋》。布告在咸阳城门，并悬挂了一千金在上面，延请各国游士宾客，有能够增或减一个字的给一千金。

秦始皇帝日益长大，太后还是淫乱不止。吕不韦恐怕被发觉后灾祸连累到自己，就私下找了个大阴茎的人嫪毐作为门客，经常放纵地歌舞取乐，让嫪毐用他的阴茎贯穿着桐木轮子转动而行，故意让太后知道，来引诱太后。太后听说了，果然想私下得到嫪毐。吕不韦就进献嫪毐，假装让人告发他犯了宫刑。吕不韦又暗中对太后说：“可以让嫪毐假装受了腐刑，就能当给事中了。”太后就暗中厚赐主持腐刑的官吏，假装论定嫪毐的罪，拔掉他的胡须眉毛冒充宦官，于是得以侍奉太后。太后就和他私





not to equal them when Qin was so powerful, Lü Buwei also invited guests and treated them handsomely, until he had three thousand protégés.

In the different states at this time there were many orators. Men like Xun Kuang wrote books which spread through the world. Lü Buwei also made his guests record all their knowledge, compiling more than two hundred thousand words divided into Eight Observations, Six Discussions and Twelve Records. Believing that this work dealt with everything in heaven and earth, comprising all ancient and all modern knowledge, he entitled it *The Annals of Master Lü*. It was displayed at the gate of Xianyang market, with a thousand pieces of gold hung above it. Itinerant scholars and protégés from other states were invited to read it, and the gold was offered to anyone who could add or subtract a single word.

As the First Emperor grew older, the queen-dowager remained as wanton as ever. Lü Buwei, fearing disaster if they were discovered, secretly found a man named Lao Ai with a large penis and made him his retainer. Some times for amusement he made Lao Ai walk round with a *tong* wood wheel on his penis, seeing to it that the queen-dowager heard of this, in order to inflame her. And sure enough, when word of this reached her ears, she secretly sought for Lao Ai. Lü Buwei presented him to her and had someone accuse him of a crime deserving castration.

Then Lü Buwei told the queen-dowager in private, "If we make a pretence of having him castrated, you can get him to serve in the palace."

So she surreptitiously bribed the officer in charge of castration to make a false report and pluck Lao Ai's beard and eyebrows to make him look like a eunuch. Then he entered the service of the queen-dowager, who had secret intercourse with him and doted on him.

【原文】

之。有身，太后恐人知之，诈卜当避时，从宫居雍。嫪毐常从，赏赐甚厚，事皆决于嫪毐。嫪毐家僮数千人，诸客求宦为嫪毐舍人千余人。

始皇七年，庄襄王母夏太后薨。孝文王后曰华阳太后，与孝文王会葬寿陵。夏太后子庄襄王葬芷阳，故夏太后独别葬杜东，曰“东望吾子，西望吾夫。后百年，旁当有万家邑”。

始皇九年，有告嫪毐实非宦者，常与太后私乱，生子二人，皆匿之。与太后谋曰“王即薨，以子为后”。于是秦王下吏治，具得情实，事连相国吕不韦。九月，夷嫪毐三族，杀太后所生两子，而遂迁太后于雍。诸嫪毐舍人皆没其家而迁之蜀。王欲诛相

【今译】

通，非常宠爱他。后来太后有了身孕，恐怕别人知道，假装卜了一卦，应当躲避凶时，就搬到雍宫居住。嫪毐经常跟随，受到的赏赐很丰厚，很多事情都由嫪毐决定。嫪毐有奴婢几千人，为了作官请求到嫪毐家做门客的有一千多人。

秦始皇七年(公元前240年)，庄襄王的母亲夏太后去世。孝文王后叫华阳太后，和孝文王合葬在寿陵。夏太后的儿子庄襄王葬在芷阳，因此夏太后单单另外葬在杜原的东面，说“向东望到我的儿子，向西望到我的丈夫。百年以后，旁边会有万户人家的城邑”。

始皇九年(公元前238年)，有人告发嫪毐实际上不是宦官，经常和太后私通，生下两个儿子，都藏起来了。嫪毐还和太后商议说“大王要是去世了，让咱们的儿子继位”。于是秦王交付官吏审理，全都得到了真实情况，事情牵连到相国吕不韦。九月，灭了嫪毐三族，杀死了太后生的两个儿子，就把太后迁到雍宫。嫪毐的门客都被没收了家产，并把他们迁到蜀地。秦王想杀了相



Later she became pregnant and, fearing discovery, gave out that an oracle had told her to retire for a season. She moved from the palace to Yong, where Lao Ai was in constant attendance upon her. She showered him with rich gifts and he it was who decided her affairs. Lao Ai had several thousand household slaves, while more than a thousand would-be officials became his retainers.

In the seventh year of the First Emperor,² King Zhuangxiang's mother, Queen-Dowager Xia, died. The consort of King Xiaowen, who was also known as Queen-Dowager Huayang, had been buried with him at Shouling. Since King Zhuangxiang the son of Queen-Dowager Xia was buried at Zhiyang, she chose to be interred separately east of Duyuan. "I shall see my son on my east, my husband on my west," she said. "One hundred years from now there will be a city of ten thousand households beside me."

In the ninth year of the First Emperor, the king was informed that Lao Ai was not a real eunuch, that he had illicit relations with the queen-dowager, that she had two sons by him both of whom had been concealed, and that he had plotted with her saying, "Once the king dies, our sons will succeed him."

The king of Qin ordered an investigation, and when the truth came out the chancellor Lü Buwei was implicated. In the ninth month Lao Ai was executed and all his kinsmen wiped out. The queen-dowager's two sons were also executed and she was removed to Yong. All Lao Ai's followers had their property confiscated and were exiled to Shu.

The king wanted to put Lü Buwei to death, but spared him on

【原文】

国，为其奉先王功大，及宾客辩士为游说者众，王不忍致法。

秦王十年十月，免相国吕不韦。及齐人茅焦说秦王，秦王乃迎太后于雍，归复咸阳，而出文信侯就国河南。

岁余，诸侯宾客使者相望于道，请文信侯。秦王恐其为变，乃赐文信侯书曰：“君何功于秦？秦封君河南，食十万户。君何亲于秦？号称仲父。其与家属徙处蜀！”吕不韦自度稍侵，恐诛，乃饮鸩而死。秦王所加怒吕不韦、嫪毐皆已死，乃皆复归嫪毐舍人迁蜀者。

始皇十九年，太后薨，谥为帝太后，与庄襄王会葬茝阳。

【今译】

国，因为他事奉先王的功劳大，以及替他游说的宾客辩士很多，秦王不忍将他依法惩办。

秦王十年十月（公元前237年），免去了吕不韦的相国职务。等到齐国人茅焦劝说秦王，秦王就到雍宫迎接太后，又回到咸阳，又遣送文信侯到封地河南去。

一年多时间里，各国的宾客和使者经常往返于道路，来问候文信侯。秦王恐怕他发生变乱，就给文信侯一封信说：“您对秦国有什么功劳？秦国把河南封给您，食邑有十万户。您跟秦国有什么亲情？竟号称仲父。您和家属迁到蜀地居住吧！”吕不韦估计自己的处境逐渐受到逼迫，害怕被杀，就喝鸩酒自杀了。秦王恼怒的吕不韦、嫪毐都已经死了，就都让迁到蜀地的嫪毐门客迁回来了。

始皇十九年（公元前228年），太后去世，谥为帝太后，和庄襄王合葬在茝阳。



account of his services to the last king and because his many orators and protégés, who travelled about as sophists, spoke up for him.

In the tenth month of the tenth year, the king of Qin dismissed Lü Buwei from his post as chancellor. Mao Jiao of Qi persuaded the king to welcome the queen-dowager back to Xianyang from Yong, and Lü Buwei was sent to his fief south of the Yellow River.

A year and more later the highways were so thronged with envoys and visitors from various states on their way to see the marquis of Wenxin, that the emperor feared a revolt. He wrote to him, "What have you done for Qin, sir, to deserve a fief of a hundred thousand households south of the river? What relation are you to Qin that you should be entitled 'Second Father'? Go with your family and followers to Shu!"

Realizing that disobedience would mean execution, Lü Buwei drank poison and died. Once Lü Buwei and Lao Ai who had incurred the king of Qin's wrath were dead, Lao Ai's former followers were recalled from Shu.

In the nineteenth year of the First Emperor, the queen-dowager died. She was posthumously entitled the empress-dowager and buried with King Zhuangxiang at Zhiyang.

【原文】

太史公曰：不韦及嫪毐贵，封号文信侯。人之告嫪毐，毐闻之。秦王验左右，未发。上之雍郊，毐恐祸起，乃与党谋，矫太后玺发卒以反蕲年宫。发吏攻毐，毐败亡走，追斩之好畤，遂灭其宗。而吕不韦由此绌矣。孔子之所谓“闻”者，其吕子乎？

【今译】

太史公说：吕不韦及嫪毐显贵起来，吕不韦的封号还是文信侯。有人告发嫪毐，嫪毐知道了。秦王向左右验证，还没有揭发此事。皇上到雍郊祭天，嫪毐害怕灾祸发生，就和同党密谋，盗用太后的玺印发兵在蕲年宫造反。秦王派官兵攻打嫪毐，嫪毐战败逃跑了，追到好畤斩了他，就灭了他的宗族。吕不韦也因此被废黜。孔子所说的“闻”者，大概就是指吕不韦这种人吧？





The Grand Historian comments: Lü Buwei and Lao Ai were ennobled and the former enfeoffed as marquis of Wenxin. Lao Ai heard of his impeachment while the king was still investigating witnesses and had not yet taken action. When the king went to the suburb of Yong, Lao Ai, fearing disaster, plotted with his men to forge the queen-dowager's seal and send troops to take Qinian Palace. Officers were dispatched to attack him and he fled in defeat. He was overtaken and beheaded at Haozhi, after which his clan was wiped out. From this followed Lü Buwei's downfall. Lü Buwei was surely the sort of man whom Confucius described as one whose good reputation was belied by his conduct.

¹ 267 B.C.

² 240 B.C.



刺客列传

【原文】

曹沫者，鲁人也，以勇力事鲁庄公。庄公好力。曹沫为鲁将，与齐战，三败北。鲁庄公惧，乃献遂邑之地以和，犹复以为将。

齐桓公许与鲁会于柯而盟。桓公与庄公既盟于坛上，曹沫执匕首劫齐桓公。桓公左右莫敢动，而问曰：“子将何欲？”曹沫曰：“齐强鲁弱，而大国侵鲁亦以甚矣。今鲁城坏即压齐境，君其图之。”桓公乃许尽归鲁之侵地。既已言，曹沫投其匕首，下坛，北面就群臣之位，颜色不变，辞令如故。桓公怒，欲倍其约。管仲曰：“不可！夫贪小利以自快，弃信于诸侯，失天下之援，不如

【今译】

曹沫是鲁国人，凭勇力事奉鲁庄公。鲁庄公喜好武力。曹沫担任鲁国将军，和齐国交战，多次失败。鲁庄公害怕了，就进献遂邑的土地来求和，仍然让曹沫作将军。

齐桓公答应和鲁国在柯邑会盟。齐桓公和鲁庄公在坛上会盟后，曹沫拿着匕首劫持了齐桓公。齐桓公的左右没人敢动，问道：“您想要什么？”曹沫说：“齐强鲁弱，凭大国来侵占鲁国，也太过分了。现在假如鲁国城池毁坏了就会压在齐国边境上，您应该考虑一下此事。”齐桓公便答应全都归还鲁国被侵占的土地。齐桓公说完后，曹沫扔下匕首，下了坛，面向北进入群臣的阶位，脸色不变，谈吐如故。齐桓公恼怒了，想违背约定。管仲说：“不行！”贪小利来自我满足，就要在诸侯面前丧失威信，失去天下的



The Assassins

Cao Mo, a native of Lu, was powerfully built and brave and served Duke Zhuang of Lu,¹ who admired physical strength. As a general of Lu, Cao Mo fought Qi and was put to flight three times. Then Duke Zhuang in alarm gave Suiyi to Qi to make peace, keeping Cao Mo, however, as his general.

Duke Huan of Qi agreed to conclude a treaty with Lu at Ke. After the two dukes had taken their oath at the altar, Cao Mo produced a dagger and seized Duke Huan, whose followers dared make no move.

"What do you want?" asked Duke Huan.

"Qi is strong, Lu weak," replied Cao Mo, "and your state has overrun so much of our land that if any city of Lu is taken by the enemy it will mean a direct menace to Qi. Think this over well, sir."

As soon as Duke Huan agreed to return all the territory wrested from Lu, Cao Mo tossed aside his dagger and descended from the altar to join the other attendants respectfully facing the rulers north. He had not changed colour or spoken less suavely than usual.

Duke Huan was angry and did not mean to keep faith.

"No!" said Guan Zhong. "If you break your promise to another state in order to enjoy some petty gain, you will lose the trust of the world. Better let them have it."



【原文】

与之。”于是桓公乃遂割鲁侵地，曹沫三战所亡地尽复予鲁。

其后百六十有七年而吴有专诸之事。

专诸者，吴堂邑人也。伍子胥之亡楚而如吴也，知专诸之能。伍子胥既见吴王僚，说以伐楚之利。吴公子光曰：“彼伍员父兄皆死于楚，而员言伐楚，欲自为报私仇也，非能为吴。”吴王乃止。伍子胥知公子光之欲杀吴王僚，乃曰：“彼光将有内志，未可说以外事。”乃进专诸于公子光。

光之父曰吴王诸樊。诸樊弟三人：次曰余祭，次曰夷昧，次曰季子札。诸樊知季子札贤而不立太子，以次传三弟，欲卒致国于季

【今译】

援助，不如给了鲁国。”于是齐桓公就割让了鲁国的被侵占的土地，曹沫几次失败所丧失的土地全都又还给了鲁国。

此后一百六十七年，吴国有了专诸的事迹。

专诸是吴国堂邑人。伍子胥逃离楚国到吴国去后，知道了专诸的才能。伍子胥见过吴王僚后，游说他伐楚有利。吴国公子光说：“他伍员的父兄都被楚国杀死了，而伍员游说伐楚，是想报私仇，不是替吴国打算。”吴王于是作罢。伍子胥知道公子光想杀吴王僚，就说：“他公子光将有在国内争位的志向，还不能劝他对外用兵。”就把专诸进献给了公子光。

公子光的父亲是吴王诸樊。诸樊有三个弟弟：先是余祭，其次是夷昧，再次是季子札。诸樊知道季子札贤明，就不立太子，把王位依次传给三个弟弟，想最终把国家交给季子札。诸樊死后，



So Duke Huan returned the land he had seized from Lu, restoring all that Cao Mo had lost in three battles.

One hundred and sixty-seven years after this there was the case of Zhuan Zhu in Wu.

Zhuan Zhu was a citizen of Tangyi in Wu. When Wu Zixu fled from Chu to Wu he discovered Zhuan Zhu's ability. When he saw King Liao of Wu he urged the advantages of attacking Chu, but Lord Guang said, "His father and elder brother were killed by the king of Chu: hence his advice to attack. He is out for private revenge, not to assist us." So the king did not take his advice.

Knowing that Lord Guang meant to kill the king, Wu Zixu said, "This fellow wants to seize power inside the state; it is useless to speak to him now about matters outside." He recommended Zhuan Zhu to Lord Guang.

Lord Guang's father, the late King Zhufan, had three younger brothers, Yuzhai, Yimo and Zha. Aware that of these Zha was the worthiest, the king had not appointed an heir but had decreed that his three brothers should succeed him by turns, hoping that Zha would

【原文】

子札。诸樊既死，传余祭。余祭死，传夷昧。夷昧死，当传季子札；季子札逃不肯立，吴人乃立夷昧之子僚为王。公子光曰：“使以兄弟次邪，季子当立；必以子乎，则光真适嗣，当立。”故尝阴养谋臣以求立。

光既得专诸，善客待之。九年而楚平王死。春，吴王僚欲因楚丧，使其二弟公子盖余、属庸将兵围楚之濠；使延陵季子于晋，以观诸侯之变。楚发兵绝吴将盖余、属庸路，吴兵不得还。于是公子光谓专诸曰：“此时不可失，不求何获？且光真王嗣，当立，季子虽来，不吾废也。”专诸曰：“王僚可杀也。母老子弱，而两弟将兵伐楚，楚绝其后。方今吴外困于楚，而内空无骨鲠之臣，是无如我

【今译】

王位传给了余祭。余祭死后，传给了夷昧。夷昧死了，应当传给季子札；可季子札逃走了，不肯继位，吴国人就立夷昧的儿子僚为王。公子光说：“假如按兄弟的次序嘛，季子应当继位；一定要按儿子排，那么我是真正的嫡子，应当继位。”所以经常暗地里供养谋臣以求继位。

公子光得到专诸后，便用客礼好好对待他。吴王僚九年（公元前514年），楚平王死了。这年春天，吴王僚想乘楚国新丧，派他的两个弟弟公子盖余、属庸领兵包围楚国的濠邑；又派延陵季子到晋国，观察诸侯的变化。楚国发兵断了吴将盖余、属庸的归路，吴军不能返回。于是公子光对专诸说：“这机会不能错过，不争取，能获得什么？况且我是真正的王位继承人，应当继位，季子即使回来，也废不了我。”专诸说：“吴王僚可以杀掉。他的母亲老了，儿子还小，两个弟弟又带兵伐楚，楚国又断了他们的后路。现在吴国在外被楚国困扰，国内又没有硬骨头的大臣，这就



eventually become king. After his death he was succeeded by Yuzhai, who in turn was succeeded by Yimo; but when Yimo died and Zha should have succeeded, he fled and would not ascend the throne. Then the men of Wu made Yimo's son Liao their king.

Lord Guang protested, "If the succession goes by brothers, Zha should be king; if by sons, I am the rightful heir and should rule." So he secretly kept advisers to help him win the throne. And he treated Zhuan Zhu well as his protégé.

"Nine years later, King Ping of Chu died. That spring, King Liao took advantage of his death to send his younger brothers Gaiyu and Zhuyong with an army against Chu to besiege Qian. He also sent his uncle Zha to Jin to observe the reactions of the other states. Then Chu dispatched troops to cut off Gaiyu and Zhuyong, with the result that Wu's army could not return.

At this Lord Guang said to Zhuan Zhu, "Here is an opportunity not to be missed. Nothing venture, nothing gain! I am the rightful heir. Even if Zha returns, he cannot depose me."

Zhuan Zhu replied, "Yes, King Liao should be killed. His mother is old, his son a mere child, and his two younger brothers gone with the troops to Chu have their way of retreat cut off. Wu is beset outside by Chu, while at home there is no one, no strong minister. King Liao is helpless against us."



【原文】

何。”公子光顿首曰：“光之身，子之身也。”

四月丙子，光伏甲士于窟室中，而具酒请王僚。王僚使兵陈自宫至光之家，门户阶陞左右，皆王僚之亲戚也。夹立侍，皆持长铍。酒既酣，公子光详为足疾，入窟室中，使专诸置匕首鱼炙之腹中而进之。既至王前，专诸擘鱼，因以匕首刺王僚，王僚立死。左右亦杀专诸，王人扰乱。公子光出其伏甲以攻王僚之徒，尽灭之，遂自立为王，是为阖闾。阖闾乃封专诸之子以为上卿。

其后七十余年而晋有豫让之事。

豫让者，晋人也，故尝事范氏及中行氏，而无所知名。去而事

【今译】

不能奈何我。”公子光磕头说：“我的性命就是您的性命。”

四月丙子那天，公子光在家中的地下室里埋伏下头戴盔甲的武士，准备酒席宴请吴王僚。吴王僚派兵从宫中一直列队到公子光的家，门户台阶左右都是王僚的亲信。他们夹道侍立，都手持长刀。酒兴酣畅后，公子光假装脚疼，进到地下室中，派专诸把匕首放到烧熟的鱼的肚子里，把它端上去。到吴王僚面前后，专诸分开鱼，就用匕首刺王僚，王僚立即死去。左右也杀死了专诸，吴王僚的人纷扰混乱。公子光派出埋伏的武士进攻王僚的部下，全都消灭了他们，于是就自立为国王，这就是吴王阖闾。阖闾便封专诸的儿子作上卿。

此后七十多年，晋国有了豫让的事迹。

豫让是晋国人，过去曾经服事过范氏及中行氏，并不知名。



Lord Guang bowed and said, "Your fate shall be my fate."

One day in the fourth month, Lord Guang hid armed men in his cellar and invited King Liao to a feast. Troops escorted the king from his palace to Lord Guang's residence, all the attendants at the gates and on the steps were his relations, and he was flanked by halberdiers. In the middle of the feast Lord Guang, pleading a pain in the leg, went down to the cellar and sent Zhuan Zhu up with a dagger hidden in a fish. When he reached King Liao, Zhuan Zhu broke open the fish and stabbed the king with the dagger, dispatching him in an instant. The attendants killed Zhuan Zhu, but the king's men were thrown into such confusion when Lord Guang sent his hidden men up to attack that they were all wiped out. He then set himself up as King Helü, making Zhuan Zhu's son a high minister.

More than seventy years after this there was the case of Yu Rang in Jin.

Yu Rang was a native of Jin, who served the noble clans of Fan and Zhonghang but whose talents went unrecognized. When he took



【原文】

智伯，智伯甚尊宠之。及智伯伐赵襄子，赵襄子与韩、魏合谋灭智伯，灭智伯之后而三分其地。赵襄子最怨智伯，漆其头以为饮器。豫让遁逃山中，曰：“嗟乎！士为知己者死，女为说己者容。今智伯知我，我必为报仇而死，以报智伯，则吾魂魄不愧矣！”乃变名姓为刑人，入宫涂厕，中挟匕首，欲以刺襄子。襄子如厕，心动，执问涂厕之刑人，则豫让，内持刀兵，曰：“欲为智伯报仇！”左右欲诛之。襄子曰：“彼义人也，吾谨避之耳。且智伯亡无后，而其臣欲为报仇，此天下之贤人也。”卒释去之。

居顷之，豫让又漆身为厉，吞炭为哑，使形状不可知。行乞于

【今译】

离开他们后又服事智伯，智伯非常尊重宠信他。等到智伯讨伐赵襄子，赵襄子与韩氏、魏氏合谋消灭了智伯，消灭智伯之后，又把他的土地分成三份。赵襄子最恨智伯，把他的头涂上漆，作成饮酒用的酒具。豫让逃到山中，说：“唉！士为知己者死，女为悦己者容。现在智伯了解我，我一定要替他报仇后再死，来报答智伯，那么我死后魂魄也不会愧恨了！”就改名换姓，装成服刑的人，潜入赵襄子的宫中刷厕所，内挟匕首，想来刺杀赵襄子。赵襄子上厕所，心中有所动，便抓起来询问刷厕所的犯人，却是豫让，身上携带着兵刃，还说：“要给智伯报仇！”左右想杀了他。赵襄子说：“他是个有情义的人，我小心躲着他罢了。况且智伯死了也没有后代，他的家臣想为他报仇，这是天下的贤人呀。”最后把他放了。

过了一段时间，豫让又把身上涂上漆，长成了癞疮，吞炭使嗓子变哑，以致面目全非。在市上行乞，他的妻子也不认识他。



service under the House of Zhi, however, Lord Zhi showed him high respect and favour. Later Lord Zhi attacked the House of Zhao and Lord Xiang of Zhao allied with Han (403B.C.-230B.C.) and Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) to defeat him, wiping out his clan and dividing his land into three. Because of the deep hatred he bore Lord Zhi, Lord Xiang lacquered his skull and used it as a wine vessel.

Yu Rang, escaping to the mountains, lamented, "Alas! A woman adorns herself for her lover, and a true man dies for one who appreciates him. Lord Zhi appreciated me, so I must die to avenge him. Then my ghost need feel no shame."

He changed his name and went, disguised as a convict, to mend the palace privy, carrying a dagger to assassinate Lord Xiang. But as Lord Xiang was entering the privy he acted on a premonition and had him seized. And Yu Rang, a weapon in his hand, admitted, "I meant to avenge Lord Zhi."

The attendants wanted to kill him but Lord Xiang said, "This is a man of honour. I shall just keep out of his way. Lord Zhi died without heirs, yet this follower tried to avenge him. He must be a most worthy man." With that he released him.

Later Yu Rang lacquered his skin to cause scabies and swallowed charcoal to hoarsen his voice, changing himself out of all recognition. He begged in the market and even his wife did not know him. But he



【原文】

市，其妻不识也。行见其友，其友识之，曰：“汝非豫让邪？”曰：“我是也。”其友为泣曰：“以子之才，委质而臣事襄子，襄子必近幸子。近幸子，乃为所欲，顾不易邪？何乃残身苦形，欲以求报襄子，不亦难乎！”豫让曰：“既已委质臣事人，而求杀之，是怀二心以事其君也。且吾所为者极难耳！然所以为此者，将以愧天下后世之为人臣怀二心以事其君者也。”

既去，顷之，襄子当出，豫让伏于所当过之桥下。襄子至桥，马惊，襄子曰：“此必是豫让也。”使人问之，果豫让也。于是襄子乃数豫让曰：“子不尝事范、中行氏乎？智伯尽灭之，而子不为报仇，而反委质臣于智伯。智伯亦已死矣，而子独何以为之报仇之深

【今译】

路上遇见了他的朋友，他的朋友认出了他，说：“你不是豫让么？”豫让说：“是我啊。”他的朋友感动得哭了，说：“凭您的才能，委身去侍奉赵襄子，赵襄子一定亲近宠幸您。亲近宠幸您，就做您想做的事，难道不容易吗？为什么要摧残身体、丑化面目，想靠这以求报复赵襄子，不也很难吗！”豫让说：“既然已经委身侍奉别人，却想杀他，这是怀着二心服事他的君主。况且我所做的事是很难的！可是这么做的原因，是为了使天下后世那些怀着二心来服事他们君主的人感到羞愧。”

豫让离去后，过了不久，赵襄子要外出了，豫让埋伏在他要经过的桥下。襄子到了桥上，马受惊了，襄子说：“这一定是豫让。”派人查问，果然是豫让。这时候襄子就责问豫让说：“您不是还曾服事过范氏、中行氏吗？智伯把他们都消灭了，可您不替他们报仇，反而委身向智伯臣服。智伯也已经死了，可您为什么单单这么深切地替他报仇呢？”豫让说：“我事奉范氏、中行氏，范



met a friend who saw through his disguise and asked, "Are you not Yu Rang?"

He admitted that he was.

The friend with tears pleaded with him, "A man of your talent should seek Lord Xiang's patronage. You would soon stand high in his favour and could then easily carry out your plan. Why should you mutilate yourself and inflict so much suffering on yourself to take revenge? This is too hard a way."

Yu Rang answered, "If I entered his service to assassinate him, I should be guilty of disloyalty to him as my lord. This way is very hard, but my aim is to shame all those who in future are guilty of disloyalty to their lords."

He went off then, for soon Lord Xiang was to come out, and Yu Rang hid under the bridge which he had to cross. When Lord Xiang reached the bridge his horse shied and he said, "Yu Rang must be here!" He sent men to investigate and it was so. Then Lord Xiang reproached Yu Rang saying, "Formerly you served the Houses of Fan and Zhonghang, yet when Lord Zhi destroyed them instead of avenging them you took service under him. Why are you so determined now to avenge Lord Zhi's death?"



【原文】

也？”豫让曰：“臣事范、中行氏，范、中行氏皆众人遇我，我故众人报之。至于智伯，国士遇我，我故国士报之。”襄子喟然叹息而泣曰：“嗟乎，豫子！子之为智伯，名既成矣，而寡人赦子，亦已足矣。子其自为计，寡人不复释子！”使兵围之。豫让曰：“臣闻明主不掩人之美，而忠臣有死名之义。前君已宽赦臣，天下莫不称君之贤。今日之事，臣固伏诛，然愿请君之衣而击之焉，以致报仇之意，则虽死不恨。非所敢望也，敢布腹心！”于是襄子大义之，乃使使持衣与豫让。豫让拔剑三跃而击之，曰：“吾可以下报智伯矣！”遂伏剑自杀。死之日，赵国志士闻之，皆为涕泣。

其后四十余年而轹有聂政之事。

【今译】

氏、中行氏都对我像一般人，我因而也像一般人那样报答他们。至于智伯，他把我当作一国中最杰出的人士看待，因而我也要像一国中最杰出的人士那样报答他。”襄子感慨叹息而流泪道：“唉呀，豫先生！您为智伯报仇，名声已经成就了，寡人赦免您，也已经够了。您应该替自己考虑一下，寡人不再放您了！”派兵包围了他。豫让说：“我听说贤明的君主不掩没别人的美名，忠臣有为名节而死之义。前次君王已经宽赦了我，天下没有不称道您的贤明的。今天的事，我本应该伏法受诛，可是我希望得到您的衣服砍击几下，就以此表达了我的报仇心愿，那样即使死了也不悔恨。这不是我敢指望的，只是敢于暴露出我的心思罢了！”这时襄子非常赞赏他的义气，就派使臣拿着衣服给了豫让。豫让拔剑跳起三次砍击衣服，说：“我可以报答智伯于地下了！”于是用剑自杀。豫让死的那天，赵国的志士听说了，都为他哭泣。

此后四十多年，轹县有了聂政的事迹。



Yu Rang answered, "When I served the Houses of Fan and Zhonghang, they treated me as an ordinary man and I treated them as ordinary men in return. But Lord Zhi treated me as the finest man in the state, and that is how I must treat him."

"Ah, Yu Rang," cried Lord Xiang, sighing and shedding tears. "You have made a name by your loyalty to Lord Zhi, and I have given you quite enough quarter. Now settle this business yourself. I am not letting you off again." He ordered his troops to surround him.

Yu Rang said, "I have heard that a wise master does not conceal men's qualities, while a loyal subject will die for fame. Already the whole world is praising the generosity with which you spared me. Now I am ready to take my punishment, but first give me your coat to run through as a token of revenge, and I shall die content. Presumptuous as it is, please grant my request."

Greatly moved by his loyalty, Lord Xiang ordered his coat to be given to Yu Rang, who unsheathing his sword leapt and ran it through three times. "Now I can go down to report to Lord Zhi!" he cried. With that he fell upon his sword and died. News of his death made all true men of Zhao shed tears.

More than forty years after this there was the case of Nie Zheng of Zhi.

【原文】

聂政者，轵深井里人也。杀人避仇，与母、姊如齐，以屠为事。

久之，濮阳严仲子事韩哀侯，与韩相侠累有隙。严仲子恐诛，亡去，游求人可以报侠累者。至齐，齐人或言聂政勇敢士也，避仇隐于屠者之间。严仲子至门请，数反，然后具酒自畅聂政母前。酒酣，严仲子奉黄金百溢，前为聂政母寿。聂政惊怪其厚，固谢严仲子。严仲子固进，而聂政谢曰：“臣幸有老母，家贫，客游以为狗屠，可以旦夕得甘毳以养亲。亲供养备，不敢当仲子之赐。”严仲子辟人，因为聂政言曰：“臣有仇，而行游诸侯众矣；然至齐，窃闻足下甚高，故进百金者，将用为大人粗粝之费，得以交足下之

【今译】

聂政是轵县深井里人。因杀了人躲避仇人，和母亲、姐姐逃到齐国，以屠宰为业。

过了很久，濮阳严仲子服事韩哀侯，与韩国宰相侠累有嫌隙。严仲子害怕被杀，逃走了，到处访求可以报复侠累的人。到了齐国，齐国有人说聂政是个勇士，躲避仇人才隐居在屠夫之间。严仲子到了门前请见，多次往返，这以后才准备酒席，亲自端着酒杯献到聂政的母亲跟前。酒到酣畅时，严仲子捧着黄金百镒，进前为聂政的母亲祝寿。聂政对这样的厚礼感到惊奇，坚决谢绝严仲子。严仲子坚持要献，聂政推辞道：“我幸好有老母，家里贫穷，客居在此以杀狗为业，可以早晚得些甘甜脆软的食物来奉养母亲。母亲的供养已经齐备了，当不起仲子的赏赐。”严仲子避开众人，趁机对聂政说：“我有个仇人，寻访可为我报仇的人，已经到过很多国家了；这样到了齐国，我听说您义气很高，所以进献百金，将要用此作您母亲的粗粮费用，能凭此和您交



Nie Zheng was a native of Shenjing Village in the district of Zhi. Having killed a man, he escaped with his mother and elder sister to Qi where he set up as a butcher. Later Yan Sui of Puyang, who owed allegiance to Marquis Ai of Han, offended the chief minister Xia Lei and fled to escape punishment, searching everywhere for a man who would kill Xia Lei for him. When he reached Qi, he heard that Nie Zheng was a brave man who was living as a butcher to avoid vengeance. Yan Sui called on him several times, then prepared a feast in honour of Nie Zheng's mother at which he presented her with a hundred pieces of gold. Amazed by such munificence, Nie Zheng declined the gift. When Yan Sui insisted he said, "I am blessed with an aged mother. Though I am but a poor stranger in these parts, I am able to supply her daily food and clothing by selling dog meat. Since I can provide for her, I dare not accept your gift."

Yan Sui sent the others away and told Nie Zheng, "I have an enemy. Reaching Qi after travelling through many states, I heard that you, sir, were a man with a high sense of honour.

So I am offering you a hundred gold pieces to supply food and



【原文】

欢，岂敢以有求望邪！”聂政曰：“臣所以降志辱身居市井屠者，徒幸以养老母；老母在，政身未敢以许人也。”严仲子固让，聂政竟不肯受也。然严仲子卒备宾主之礼而去。

久之，聂政母死。既已葬，除服，聂政曰：“嗟乎！政乃市井之人，鼓刀以屠；而严仲子乃诸侯之卿相也，不远千里，枉车骑而交臣。臣之所以待之，至浅鲜矣，未有大功可以称者，而严仲子奉百金为亲寿，我虽不受，然是者徒深知政也。夫贤者以感忿睚眦之意而亲信穷僻之人，而政独安得嘿然而已乎！且前日要政，政徒以老母；老母今以天年终，政将为知己者用。”乃遂西至濮阳，见严仲子曰：“前日所以不许仲子者，徒以亲在；今不幸而母以天年终。

【今译】

好，哪敢再有所指望呢！”聂政说：“我降低志向、辱没身份隐居在市井屠夫中间的原因，只是幸运地来奉养老母，老母活着，我自己不敢答应别人。”严仲子坚决要给他资财，聂政终究不肯接受。可是严仲子最后终于行完了宾主的礼节才离开。

过了很久，聂政的母亲死了。安葬完后，丧期已满，聂政说：“唉！我是个普通百姓，只会拿着屠刀屠宰牲口；而严仲子是诸侯的卿相，不远千里，屈驾来结交我。我接待他的，非常地菲薄稀少，没有什么大功可以当得起，严仲子捧着百金替母亲祝寿，我虽然没有接受，可是这样正表明只有他才深深了解我。贤明的人因为心中怨恨才亲信我这穷乡僻壤之人，我难道能默不作声就罢了吗！况且前些时他请我，我只是因为有老母；老母现在终于天年了，我将要为知己者效命。”就西行到濮阳，会见严仲子说：“前些时没有答应仲子，只是因为母亲还在；现在不幸母亲终于去世



clothing for your mother and to win your friendship. I want no other return."

Nie Zheng replied, "I have lowered my ambitions and humbled myself to sell meat in the market solely for my mother's sake. While she lives, I cannot promise my services to anyone." He could not be prevailed upon to accept, whereupon Yan Sui took a courteous leave of him.

In due time Nie Zheng's mother died. After she was buried and the mourning over, Nie Zheng said, "I am a poor stall-keeper wielding a butcher's cleaver, while Yan Sui is a state minister; yet he came a thousand *li* in his carriage to seek my friendship. I did very little for him, performed no great services to deserve his favour, yet he offered my mother a hundred pieces of gold; and though I did not accept, this shows how well he appreciated me. His longing for revenge made this worthy gentleman place his faith in one so humble and obscure. How, then, can I remain silent? Previously I ignored his overtures for my mother's sake. Now that my mother has died of old age, I must serve this man who appreciates me."

So he went west to Puyang to see Yan Sui and told him, "I refused you before because my mother was still alive, but now she has died of old age. Who is the man on whom you want to take vengeance? I am at your service."





【原文】

仲子所欲报仇者为谁？请得从事焉！”严仲子具告曰：“臣之仇，韩相侠累，侠累又韩君之季父也，宗族盛多，居处兵卫甚设。臣欲使人刺之，终莫能就。今足下幸而不弃，请益其车骑壮士可为足下辅翼者。”聂政曰：“韩之与卫，相去中间不甚远，今杀人之相，相又国君之亲，此其势不可以多人，多人不能无生得失，生得失则语泄。语泄，是韩举国而与仲子为仇，岂不殆哉！”遂谢车骑人徒，聂政乃辞独行。

仗剑至韩。韩相侠累方坐府上，持兵戟而卫侍者甚众。聂政直入，上阶刺杀侠累，左右大乱。聂政大呼，所击杀者数十人，因自皮面决眼，自屠出肠，遂以死。

韩取聂政尸暴于市，购问莫知谁子。于是韩县购之，有能

【今译】

了。仲子想报仇的人是谁？请让我办这件事！”严仲子全都告诉他说：“我的仇人是韩国宰相侠累，侠累又是韩国国君的叔父，宗族很多，住的地方护卫设置很多，我想派人刺杀他，一直没能成功。现在幸好您不嫌弃，让我增加车马壮士作您的辅助吧。”聂政说：“韩国和卫国，中间相距不太远，现在要刺杀别人的宰相，宰相又是国君的亲戚，这样的形势不宜多派人，多派人不能不生是非，生是非就要泄露消息，泄露消息，这样韩国全国都和您为敌，岂不危险吗！”就谢绝了车辆人马，聂政这才告辞单独前往。

聂政持着剑到了韩国，韩国宰相侠累正坐在府上，拿着兵戟侍卫的人很多。聂政直接闯入，上台阶刺杀了侠累，左右大乱。聂政大声喊叫，所砍杀的有几十人，乘机自己割去面皮，挖出眼珠，自己掏出肠子，就这样死了。

韩国将聂政暴尸街头，出赏询问也没人知道是谁。于是韩



Then Yan Sui told him the whole story, saying, "My enemy is Xia Lei, chief minister of Han and uncle of the marquis of Han. He has many clansmen and his residence is closely guarded. All my attempts to assassinate him have failed. Since you are good enough to help me, I can supply you with chariots, cavalry and men."

"Han is not far from Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.), and we are going to kill the chief minister who is also the ruler's uncle," said Nie Zheng. "In these circumstances, too many men would make for trouble and word might get out. Then the whole of Han would become your enemy and that would be disastrous."

So refusing all assistance, he bid farewell and carrying his sword went alone to the capital of Han. Xia Lei, seated in his office, was surrounded by a host of guards and armed attendants; but Nie Zheng marching straight in and up the steps stabbed the minister to death. The attendants, in utter confusion, were set upon with loud cries by Nie Zheng, till several dozen of them were laid low. Then he gashed his face, gouged out his eyes and stabbed himself so that his guts spilled out and he died.

Nie Zheng's corpse was exposed in the market-place in Han and inquiries were made but no one knew who he was. A reward of a thousand gold pieces was offered for identifying the assassin, but

【原文】

言杀相侠累者予千金。久之莫知也。

政姊荣闻人有刺杀韩相者，贼不得，国不知其名姓，暴其尸而县之千金，乃于邑曰：“其是吾弟与？嗟乎，严仲子知吾弟！”立起，如韩，之市，而死者果政也，伏尸哭极哀，曰：“是轵深井里所谓聂政者也。”市行者诸众人皆曰：“此人暴虐吾国相，王县购其名姓千金，夫人不闻与？何敢来识之也？”荣应之曰：“闻之。然政所以蒙污辱自弃于市贩之间者，为老母幸无恙，妾未嫁也。亲既以天年下世，妾已嫁夫，严仲子乃察举吾弟困污之中而交之，泽厚矣，可奈何？士固为知己者死，今乃以妾尚在之故，重自刑以绝从，妾其奈何畏殁身之诛，终灭贤弟之名！”大惊韩市人。乃大呼

【今译】

国悬赏，有能说出杀害宰相侠累的人给千金。过了很久也没人知道。

聂政的姐姐聂荣听说有人刺杀韩国宰相，凶手不知是谁，国人也不知他的姓名，已将其暴尸街头悬赏千金，就呜咽着说：“大概是我弟弟吧？唉呀，严仲子知道我弟弟！”马上起身，到韩国去，来到市上，死者果然是聂政，聂荣伏尸痛哭，极其悲哀，说：“这是轵邑深井里人所说的聂政啊。”市上来往的行人都说：“这人残杀了我国的宰相，大王悬赏千金征求他的姓名，夫人没听说吗？为何还敢来认领呢？”聂荣回答说：“听说了。可是聂政之所以甘受污辱，置身于商贩之间，是因为老母幸好还健在，我还没有出嫁。母亲已经终以天年了，我已经嫁夫，严仲子从穷困污浊中发现了我的弟弟并和他结交，恩泽深厚啊，可怎么办？士本该为知己者死，现在却因为我活着，又残害自己的身体，断绝连累别人的线索，我又怎能害怕遭杀身之祸，始终埋没我弟弟的名声呢！”



time passed without any news. Then Nie Zheng's sister Rong heard of Xia Lei's assassination and the large reward offered for the identification of his unknown assassin, whose corpse had been exposed. "Can this be my brother?" she sobbed. "Ah, how well Yan Sui understood him!"

She went to the market-place in Han and found that it was indeed he. Falling on the corpse she wept bitterly and cried, "This is Nie Zheng from Shenjing Village in Zhi!"

The people in the market warned her, "This man savagely murdered our chief minister and the king has offered a thousand gold pieces for his name. Did you not know this? Why do you come to identify him?"

"I knew this," she replied. "But he humbled himself to live as a tradesman in the market because our mother was living and I had no husband. After our mother was living and I had no husband. After our mother died and I was married, Yan Sui raised him from his squalor to be his friend. How else could he repay Yan Sui's great kindness? A man should die for a friend who knows his worth. Because I was still alive, he mutilated himself to hide his identity. But how can I, for fear of death, let my noble brother perish unknown?"

This greatly astounded the people in the market. Having called



【原文】

天者三，卒于邑悲哀而死政之旁。

晋、楚、齐、卫闻之，皆曰：“非独政能也，乃其姊亦烈女也。乡使政诚知其姊无濡忍之志，不重暴骸之难，必绝险千里以列其名，姊弟俱僇于韩市者，亦未必敢以身许严仲子也。严仲子亦可谓知人能得士矣！”

其后二百二十余年秦有荆轲之事。

荆轲者，卫人也。其先乃齐人，徙于卫，卫人谓之庆卿。而之燕，燕人谓之荆卿。

荆卿好读书击剑，以术说卫元君，卫元君不用。其后秦伐魏，

【今译】

这些话使韩国市场上的人非常惊奇。聂荣大声呼喊了三声：“天哪！”终于因愁苦悲哀死在了聂政的身旁。

晋国、楚国、齐国、卫国的人听说了，都说：“不但聂政有才能，他的姐姐也是个烈女。假如聂政确知他的姐姐没有软弱忍受的心思，不顾惜暴尸街市的苦难，一定要越过千里险阻来显扬他的名声，姐弟一起死在韩国街市上的话，也未必敢把自己的生命许诺给严仲子了。严仲子也可以说是知人能得士的呀！”

此后二百二十多年秦国有荆轲的事迹。

荆轲是卫国人。他的祖先是齐国人，迁到了卫国，卫国人称他庆卿。而后到了燕国，燕国人称他荆卿。

荆卿喜好读书击剑，曾经以剑术游说卫元君，卫元君没有任用他。此后秦国攻打魏国，设置了东郡，把卫元君的旁支亲属迁



aloud on heaven three times, she wailed in anguish and died beside her brother.

Word of this reached Jin, Chu, Qi and Wei, and everyone commented, "Not only was Nie Zheng able, but his sister was a remarkable woman too." Nie Zheng might never have given his life for Yan Sui had he known that his sister, with her strong resolution, would not balk at his corpse exposed in the market-place and take the long difficult journey to make his name known and perish by his side. Yan Sui certainly was a good judge of character able to find loyal helpers!

More than two hundred and twenty years after this, and there was the case of Jing Ke in Qin.

Jing Ke was a native of Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.), whose ancestors had migrated to that state from Qi. The people of Wei called him Master Qing, but when he went to Yan he was known as Master Jing. He loved reading and swordsmanship and advised Prince Yuan of Wei on the art of government; but the prince did not take his advice. Later, when Qin attacked Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) and annexed some territory



【原文】

置东郡，徙卫元君之支属于野王。

荆轲尝游过榆次，与盖聂论剑，盖聂怒而目之。荆轲出，人或言复召荆卿，盖聂曰：“曩者吾与论剑，有不称者，吾目之；试往，是宜去，不敢留。”使使往之主人，荆卿则已驾而去榆次矣。使者还报，盖聂曰：“固去也，吾曩者目摄之！”

荆轲游于邯郸，鲁句践与荆轲博，争道，鲁句践怒而叱之，荆轲嘿而逃去，遂不复会。

荆轲既至燕，爱燕之狗屠及善击筑者高渐离。荆轲嗜酒，日与狗屠及高渐离饮于燕市，酒酣以往，高渐离击筑，荆轲和而歌于市中，相乐也，已而相泣，旁若无人者。荆轲虽游于酒人乎，然其为

【今译】

到了野王。

荆轲曾经游历路过榆次，和盖聂论剑，盖聂对他怒目而视。荆轲出来后，有人对盖聂说再召回荆卿。盖聂说：“前不久我和他论剑，他的意见有不当之处，我瞪了他；你们试着前去看看，他应该走了，不敢逗留了。”派使者前去到房主那儿，荆卿已经驾车离开了榆次。使者回来报告，盖聂说：“本来该走了，我前不久瞪眼慑服了他！”

荆轲到邯郸游历，鲁句践和荆轲博戏，争夺博局上的道路，鲁句践怒叱了他，荆轲默不作声地逃走了，也就没有再会面。

荆轲到燕国后，喜欢一个燕国的狗屠和善于击筑的人高渐离。荆轲嗜好喝酒，每天和狗屠及高渐离在燕国市上饮酒，酒兴酣畅以后，高渐离击筑，荆轲在街市上和着拍子唱歌，相互娱乐，一会儿又互相哭泣，旁若无人。荆轲虽然在酒徒中间交游，



as its Eastern Province, the prince's family was moved to Yewang.

Jing Ke once went to Yuci to discuss swordsmanship with Gai Nie, but walked out when Gai Nie lost his temper and glared at him. Someone suggested that he be recalled.

"No," said Gai Nie. "Just now, when we were talking about swords, he said something foolish for which I glared at him. He was right to leave. He will not stay here now."

A messenger sent to Jing Ke's lodging reported that he had indeed already driven away from Yuci.

"Naturally," said Gai Nie. "I overawed him with a look."

Later Jing Ke went to Handan, where he fell out with Lu Goujian while gambling; and when Lu shouted angrily at him he felt without a word, never going to seek Lu again.

On arriving in Yan, Jing Ke made friends with a dogflesh vender and a guitar player named Gao Jianli. Jing Ke was fond of wine, and he spent his days drinking with these men in the market-place. When they had drunk themselves tipsy, Gao would play the guitar while Jing Ke sang in the middle of the market; they were now merry, now sad, shedding tears as if no one else were near.

Though Jing Ke spent much time with drinking companions, he

【原文】

人沈深好书，其所游诸侯，尽与其贤豪长者相结。其之燕，燕之处士田光先生亦善待之，知其非庸人也。

居顷之，会燕太子丹质秦亡归燕。燕太子丹者，故尝质于赵，而秦王政生于赵，其少时与丹欢。及政立为秦王，而丹质于秦。秦王之遇燕太子丹不善，故丹怨而亡归。归而求为报秦王者，国小，力不能。其后秦日出兵山东以伐齐、楚、三晋，稍蚕食诸侯，且至于燕，燕君臣皆恐祸之至。太子丹患之，问其傅鞠武。武对曰：“秦地遍天下，威胁韩、魏、赵氏，北有甘泉、谷口之固，南有泾、渭之沃，擅巴、汉之饶，右陇、蜀之山，左关、殽之险，民众而士厉，兵革有余。意有所出，则长城之南、易水以北，未有所定

【今译】

可是他为人深沉，喜欢读书，他游历诸侯，全都和那里的贤士、豪杰、长者结交。他到了燕国，燕国的处士田光先生也对他很好，知道他不是平庸的人。

过了不久，恰逢燕太子丹作秦国的人质逃回燕国。燕国太子丹，过去曾经在赵国作人质，秦王嬴政生在赵国，他年少时和太子丹要好。等到嬴政继位为秦王，太子丹到秦国作人质。秦王对待燕太子丹不好，因而太子丹怨恨而逃回。回来后寻求报复秦王，国家弱小，力量不够。此后秦国日益出兵崤山以东来攻打齐国、楚国、三晋，逐渐蚕食诸侯，将要轮到燕国了，燕国的君臣都害怕灾祸到来。太子丹担心此事，问他的老师鞠武。鞠武回答说：“秦国的土地遍天下，威胁着韩国、魏国、赵国，北面有甘泉、谷口坚固的险要，南面有泾水、渭水流域肥沃的土地，拥有巴郡、汉中郡的富饶地区，右有陇山、蜀山的高山，左有函谷关、殽山的天险，人口众多，士卒振奋，武器装备绰绰有余。如



was serious and studious too and made friends wherever he went with the worthy men and elders. In Yan, for instance, he was well received by a retired scholar named Tian Guang, who understood that he was no ordinary man.

About this time Dan, crown prince of Yan, escaped from Qin where he had been a hostage and returned to his own state. This prince had previously been a hostage in Zhao, and as King Zheng of Qin was born in that state they had been playmates together. After Zheng ascended the throne of Qin, Prince Dan went there as a hostage; but being shabbily treated he fled in disgust. He longed for revenge, but because his state was small he was powerless. Later the king of Qin launched repeated campaigns against Qi, Chu and the three successor states of Jin in the east, annexing their territory and drawing ever nearer to Yan. The king of Yan and his ministers trembled at this impending danger, and Prince Dan in his anxiety consulted his tutor, Ju Wu.

"Qin has extended its borders on every side and is now threatening Han, Zhao and Wei," said Ju Wu. "In the north it has the strongholds of Ganquan and Gukou, in the south the fertile valleys of the Jing and Wei Rivers. It controls the wealth of Ba and Han, has the mountains of Long and Shu to its west, and the Hangu Pass and Yao Mountains to its east. Its population is large, its soldiers brave, and it possesses weapons and to spare for its troops. If it is bent on mischief, there is no telling what may befall the land south of the Great Wall and north of the River Yi. Then why risk rubbing him the wrong way just

【原文】

也。奈何以见陵之怨，欲批其逆鳞哉！”丹曰：“然则何由？”对曰：“请入图之。”

居有间，秦将樊於期得罪于秦王，亡之燕，太子受而舍之。鞠武谏曰：“不可。夫以秦王之暴，而积怒于燕，足为寒心，又况闻樊将军之所在乎？是谓‘委肉当饿虎之蹊’也，祸必不振矣！虽有管、晏，不能为之谋也。愿太子疾遣樊将军入匈奴以灭口。请西约三晋，南连齐、楚，北购于单于，其后乃可图也。”太子曰：

“太傅之计，旷日弥久，心惘然，恐不能须臾。且非独于此也，夫樊将军穷困于天下，归身于丹，丹终不以迫于强秦而弃所哀怜之交，置之匈奴，是固丹命卒之时也。愿太傅更虑之。”鞠武曰：

【今译】

企图向外扩张，那么长城以南、易水以北都不能安定。为何要因为被凌辱的怨恨，就想触犯强权之怒呢！”太子丹说：“那么怎么办？”鞠武回答说：“请让我深入考虑一下。”

过了不久，秦将樊於期得罪了秦王，逃到了燕国，太子接纳了他，并让他住下。鞠武进谏说：“这不行。凭秦王的凶暴，对燕国又有积怨，足以使人心惊，又何况听到樊将军在这里呢？这是所谓‘把肉扔在饿虎进出的路口’，灾祸一定不能解救了！即使有管仲、晏婴，也不能出什么主意了。希望太子赶快送樊将军到匈奴去，以杜绝秦国入侵的借口。请您西面约定三晋，南面连结齐、楚，北面同单于交好，此后才可以图谋。”太子说：“太傅的计策，旷日持久，我心里烦乱，恐怕等不得片刻。况且不单如此，樊将军在天下陷于困境，投身于我，我始终不会因迫于强秦的势力抛弃我所哀怜的朋友，把他送到匈奴，这本来就是我要结束生命的时候了。希望太傅再考虑考虑。”鞠武说：“您采取危险的行动





because he once slighted you?"

"What then can I do?" asked the prince.

"Allow me to go back and think of a plan," said Ju Wu.

Some time after this, General Fan Yuqi of Qin offended his king and fled to Yan, where Prince Dan took him in.

"You cannot do this!" protested Ju Wu. "If a tyrant like the king of Qin centres all his rage on Yan that would be enough to strike terror into our hearts — especially should he learn that General Fan is here. This is setting meat before a hungry tiger: disaster must surely follow! Not even Guan Zhong or Yan Ying could save you then. I advise you to lose no time in sending General Fan to the Huns in order to clear yourself; then ally with the three successor states of Jin in the west, with Qi and Chu in the south, and with the khan in the north. This done, you can start making plans."

"Yours is a long-term scheme, sir," objected the prince, "and I am too frantic to wait. And that is not all. General Fan threw himself on my mercy because he was desperate, and I am certainly not going to let myself be intimidated by a powerful Qin into abandoning a friend with whom I sympathize and handing him over to the Huns. I would rather die than do such a thing. Please think again, sir."



【原文】

“夫行危欲求安，造祸而求福，计浅而怨深，连结一人之后交，不顾国家之大害，此所谓‘资怨而助祸’矣。夫以鸿毛燎于炉炭之上，必无事矣。且以雕鸢之秦，行怨暴之怒，岂足道哉！燕有田光先生，其为人智深而勇沈，可与谋。”太子曰：“愿因太傅而得交于田先生，可乎？”鞠武曰：“敬诺。”出见田先生，道“太子愿图国事于先生也”。田光曰：“敬奉教。”乃造焉。

太子逢迎，却行为导，跪而蔽席。田光坐定，左右无人，太子避席而请曰：“燕、秦不两立，愿先生留意也！”田光曰：“臣闻骐骥盛壮之时，一日而驰千里；至其衰老，弩马先之。今太子闻光盛壮之时，不知臣精已消亡矣。虽然光不敢以图国事，所善荆卿可

【今译】

想求得安全，制造灾祸却祈求幸福，计谋短浅可结怨却深，和一个人结成新朋友，不顾国家的大害，这是所谓的‘积蓄怨恨助长灾祸’啊。拿鸿毛放到炉炭之上，必定无济于事。况且像雕鸢一样凶狠的秦国，一旦要发泄它怨恨凶暴的怒气，哪还用说什么！燕国有个田光先生，他的为人智谋深远，勇敢沉着，可以和他商议。”太子说：“希望通过太傅而能和田光先生结交，可以吗？”鞠武说：“遵命。”出去会见田先生，说“太子希望和先生图谋国事”。田光说：“谨领命。”就去拜访太子。

太子上前迎接，后退着给田光带路，跪下来整理席子。田光坐稳后，左右没有人，太子离开席子请教说：“燕国、秦国不能并存，希望先生留意。”田光说：“我听说骏马少壮的时候，一天跑上千里；到了衰老的时候，劣马也跑在它前头。现在太子听说的是我少壮时期的作为，但不知道我的精力已经消耗完了。虽说这样，我不敢图谋国事，但是我所交好的荆卿可以差使。”太子说：



Ju Wu said, "Risking danger in the hope of winning safety, courting disaster to obtain good fortune, devising shallow schemes to redress a great wrong, and binding yourself in friendship to one man with no regard for the great harm to the state — this is 'building up enmity and inviting disaster.' When wild duck feathers are dropped into a charcoal stove, their fate is a foregone conclusion; and when Qin swoops down like a vulture in all its fury, you do not need me to tell you what will happen. There is an old gentleman in our state named Tian Guang, who has great wisdom and courage. You might consult him."

"Will you introduce me to him, sir?" asked the prince.

Ju Wu assented and went to inform Tian Guang that Prince Dan wished to consult him on state policy. Tian Guang agreed and went to call on the prince.

Prince Dan welcomed and led him in, then knelt to dust the mat for him. As soon as Tian Guang was seated and they were alone, the prince rose to his feet.

"It is Qin or us!" he said. "What are we to do?"

"I have heard that a good steed in its prime can gallop a thousand *li* in one day," said Tian Guang. "But when it grows weak and old, the poorest nag can outstrip it. Your Highness has heard about me as I was in my prime, not knowing that my strength is already spent. But though I dare not advise on affairs of state, my friend Jing Ke would be of service to you."



【原文】

使也。”太子曰：“愿因先生得结交于荆卿，可乎？”田光曰：“敬诺。”即起趋出。太子送至门，戒曰：“丹所报，先生所言者，国之大事也，愿先生勿泄也！”田光俯而笑，曰：“诺。”俚行见荆卿，曰：“光与子相善，燕国莫不知。今太子闻光壮盛之时，不知吾形已不逮也，幸而教之曰‘燕、秦不两立，愿先生留意也’。光窃不自外，言足下于太子也，愿足下过太子于宫。”荆轲曰：“谨奉教。”田光曰：“吾闻之，长者行，不使人疑之。今太子告光曰‘所言者国之大事也，愿先生勿泄’，是太子疑光也。夫为行而使人疑之，非节侠也。”欲自杀以激荆卿，曰：“愿足下急过太子，言光已死，明不言也。”因遂自刎而死。

荆轲遂见太子，言田光已死，致光之言。太子再拜而跪，膝行

【今译】

“希望通过先生结交荆卿，可以吗？”田光说：“遵命。”就站起身，快步走出。太子送到门口，告诫说：“我所说的，先生所说的，都是国家大事，希望先生不要泄露！”田光俯身笑道：“是。”弯着腰走来见荆卿，说：“我和您要好，燕国没有不知道的。现在太子听说的是我少壮时候的作为，却不知我的身体已经不行了，承蒙他教导我说‘燕国、秦国不能并存，希望先生留意’。我私下里没有见外，就对太子说起了您，希望您到宫里拜访太子。”荆轲说：“遵命。”田光说：“我听说，长者做事，不让别人怀疑他。现在太子告诉我说‘所说的话，是国家大事，希望先生不要泄露’，这是太子怀疑我。做事却使别人怀疑，就不是有节气、有侠义的人。”他想以自杀激励荆卿，说：“希望您赶快拜访太子，就说我已经死了，表明不会泄露了。”就抹脖子自杀而死。

荆轲就去见太子，说田光已经死了，转达了田光的话。太子



"Will you introduce me to him, sir?" asked the prince.

Tian Guang agreed and stood up to leave. Prince Dan saw him to the gate.

"What I have just told you and what you have said are of vital consequence to our state," the prince cautioned him. "I must beg you not to disclose this."

Tian Guang nodded and smiled as he said, "Certainly not!" then went quickly to see Jing Ke.

"Everyone in Yan knows that we are on good terms," he said. "The prince had heard of my fame during my youth and, not knowing that I am past my prime, favoured me with an audience during which he said, 'It is Qin or us. What are we to do?' I made so bold as to recommend you to him, and hope you will go to the crown prince's palace."

To this Jing Ke agreed.

"I have heard that the actions of a man of honour should be above suspicion," continued Tian Guang. "But by warning me that our talk was of vital consequence to the state and asking me not to disclose it, the prince showed that he doubts me. To give rise to suspicion is a slur upon a man's honour." Making up his mind to kill himself to spur Jing Ke on, he proceeded, "Please go at once to the crown prince and tell him I am dead, to show that I will not talk." With this, he cut his throat and died.

Then Jing Ke went to see Prince Dan, told him of Tian Guang's



【原文】

流涕，有顷而后言曰：“丹所以诫田先生毋言者，欲以成大事之谋也。今田先生以死明不言，岂丹之心哉！”荆轲坐定，太子避席顿首曰：“田先生不知丹之不肖，使得至前，敢有所道，此天之所以哀燕而不弃其孤也。今秦有贪利之心，而欲不可足也。非尽天下之地，臣海内之王者，其意不厌。今秦已虏韩王，尽纳其地。又举兵南伐楚，北临赵；王翦将数十万之众距漳、邺，而李信出太原、云中。赵不能支秦，必入臣，入臣则祸至燕。燕小弱，数困于兵，今计举国不足以当秦。诸侯服秦，莫敢合从。丹之私计愚，以为诚得天下之勇士使于秦，窥以重利；秦王贪，其势必得所愿矣。诚得劫秦王，使悉反诸侯侵地，若曹沫之与齐桓公，则

【今译】

再次下拜跪下，用膝盖跪着前行，痛哭流涕，过了一会儿说：“我之所以告诫田先生不要乱说，是想以此完成大业的计划。现在田先生以死表明不会泄露，这哪是我的本意呀！”荆轲坐定后，太子离席磕头道：“田先生不知道我不才，使您能到我跟前，冒昧地有所陈述，这是上天哀怜燕国，不抛弃它的后人啊。现在秦国有贪利的居心，欲望不能满足。除非全部占有了天下的土地，臣服海内的君王，它的心意不会满足。现在秦国已经俘虏了韩王，全部收纳了他的土地。又发兵向南攻打楚国，向北逼近赵国；王翦带领几十万人到达漳水、邺城，李信又从太原、云中出兵。赵国不能抵挡住秦国，一定要到秦国称臣，到秦国称臣就要祸及燕国。燕国弱小，多次被战争困扰，现在估计全国的兵力都不足以抵挡秦国。诸侯畏服于秦国，没有敢合纵的。我个人的想法很愚笨，以为如果真能找到天下的勇士，派到秦国，以重利引诱秦王；秦王贪婪，这势必要达到我们的愿望了。如果真能劫持了秦王，使



death and what he had said. The prince bowed twice and knelt down, advancing on his knees as he shed tears. "I warned Master Tian not to speak to ensure the success of a great enterprise," he said after a long silence. "I did not mean him to die to prove his discretion."

After Jing Ke had taken his seat the prince moved off his mat, bowed his head to the floor and said, "Not knowing my unworthiness, sir Master Tian asked you here so that I could consult you. This shows that Heaven has pity on our state and will not abandon us. Now Qin is insatiable in its greed and will not rest satisfied until it has seized all the lands in the world and made all princes its kingdom and raised troops to attack Chu in the south and threaten Zhao in the north. Wang Jian is leading several hundred thousand men against Zhang and Ye, while Li Xin is advancing from Taiyuan and Yunzhong. Zhao cannot resist Qin but must become its vassal. Once that happens, disaster will overtake Yan.

"Ours is a small, weak state, exhausted by constant warfare, so that even if we mobilize the whole country we cannot hold Qin at bay; and the other states are too cowed to ally with us against our common enemy. This, then, is my plan: if we can find a man of outstanding courage to go as our envoy to Qin and offer a large enough bait, that greedy king is sure to rise to it. If he can be forced to return all the land



【原文】

大善矣，则不可，因而刺杀之。彼秦大将擅兵于外而内有乱，则君臣相疑，以其间诸侯得合从，其破秦必矣。此丹之上愿，而不知所委命，惟荆卿留意焉。”久之，荆轲曰：“此国之大事也，臣弩下，恐不足任使。”太子前顿首，固请毋让，然后许诺。于是尊荆卿为上卿，舍上舍。太子日造门下，供太牢具，异物间进，车骑美女恣荆轲所欲，以顺适其意。

久之，荆轲未有行意。秦将王翦破赵，虏赵王，尽收入其地，进兵北略地至燕南界。太子丹恐惧，乃请荆轲曰：“秦兵旦暮渡易水，则虽欲长侍足下，岂可得哉！”荆轲曰：“微太子言，臣愿谒之。今行而毋信，则秦未可亲也。夫樊将军，秦王购之金千斤，邑

【今译】

他全部归还诸侯被侵占的土地，就像曹沫和齐桓公那样，就最好了，如果不行，就乘机刺杀了他。那些秦国大将领兵在外，可国内却有了动乱，这样君臣互相猜疑，乘这期间诸侯得以合纵，打败秦国是一定的了。这是我的最高心愿，却不知道委托给谁，希望荆卿留心此事。”过了很久，荆轲说：“这是国家大事，我才能低劣，恐怕不能胜任出使的任务。”太子上前磕头，坚决请求荆轲不要推让，此后荆轲答应了。于是尊荆卿作上卿，住上等客房。太子每天到门前拜访，供给全套猪牛羊，不时地进献珍奇物品，车马美女随荆轲所用，以便让荆轲顺心。

过了很久，荆轲还没有出发的意思。秦将王翦攻破赵国，俘虏了赵王，全部占领了赵国的土地，进兵向北侵占土地，到了燕国的南部边界。太子丹害怕了，就请求荆轲说：“秦兵早晚要渡过易水，我虽然想长久地陪侍您，但怎么可能呢！”荆轲说：“没有太子这话，我也想进见您了。现在动身却没有使人相信的东西，那样秦王是不可能接近的。樊将军，秦王悬赏黄金千斤、封邑万



he has seized, in the way Cao Mo forced Duke Huan of Qi, well and good. If not, he can be stabbed to death. Then with generals commanding armies outside their borders and trouble at home, the ruler of Qin and his subjects will fall out; and we can seize this opportunity to form an alliance of states which will certainly defeat Qin. This is the great desire of my heart, but I do not know to whom to entrust this task. I hope you will consider my plan."

Jing Ke was silent for a time.

"Our kingdom depends upon this," he said at last. "But my ability is of the meanest. I fear I am not fit for such a mission."

But when the prince came up to him and bowed, begging him not to refuse, Jing Ke accepted. Then Prince Dan honoured him as a high minister and lodged him in a fine mansion. He called on Jing Ke every day and presented him with delicacies, precious objects, carriages and beautiful girls, to satisfy his every wish and give him pleasure. This state of affairs went on for quite a while, yet Jing Ke made no move to leave for Qin. Then General Wang Jian of Qin defeated Zhao, captured the king of Zhao, annexed the whole state, and marched north to occupy all the land up to Yan's southern border. Prince Dan was thoroughly alarmed.

"The army of Qin may cross the River Yi any day now," he told Jing Ke. "Then I shall no longer be able to entertain you, much as I would like to."

"I was thinking of going to see you about this, but now you have mentioned it first," replied Jing Ke. "Unless I take some proof of goodwill, the king of Qin will not let me approach him. He has offered a thousand catties of gold and a fief of ten thousand families for



【原文】

万家。诚得樊将军首与燕督亢之地图，奉献秦王，秦王必说见臣，臣乃得有以报。”太子曰：“樊将军穷困来归丹，丹不忍以己之私而伤长者之意，愿足下更虑之。”

荆轲知太子不忍，乃遂私见樊於期，曰：“秦之遇将军可谓深矣，父母宗族皆为戮没。今闻购将军首金千斤，邑万家，将奈何？”于期仰天太息流涕曰：“於期每念之，常痛于骨髓，顾计不知所出耳！”荆轲曰：“今有一言可以解燕国之患，报将军之仇者，何如？”於期乃前曰：“为之奈何？”荆轲曰：“愿得将军之首以献秦王，秦王必喜而见臣，臣左手把其袖，右手搤其匈，然则将军之仇报，而燕见陵之愧除矣。将军岂有意乎？”樊於期偏袒扼

【今译】

户来求购他的人头。如果真能得到樊将军的人头和燕国督亢地区的地图，奉献给秦王，秦王一定高兴而接见我，我这才能有所回报。”太子说：“樊将军在穷困中来投奔我，我不忍心因为自己的私利而伤害长者的心意，希望您再考虑别的办法吧。”

荆轲知道太子不忍心，就私下会见樊於期说：“秦国对待将军可以说非常刻毒，父母宗族都被杀戮。现在听说用黄金千金、封邑万家求购将军的人头，您将怎么办？”樊於期仰天叹息，流着泪说：“我每次想到这些，经常痛入骨髓，只是想不出主意罢了！”荆轲说：“现在我有一句话可以解除燕国的忧患，报将军的仇恨，怎么样？”樊於期就进前说：“怎么办呢？”荆轲说：“希望得到将军的人头献给秦王，秦王一定会高兴地接见我，我左手抓住他的袖子，右手用匕首刺他的胸膛，那样将军的仇报了，燕国被欺凌的愧恨也消除了。将军可还有意吗？”樊於期脱下一边衣袖，露出



the capture of General Fan. If I can have General Fan's head and the map of Dukang, the king will welcome me and I shall be able to carry out your plan."

"General Fan came to me to take refuge," said Prince Dan.

"I do not want to go counter to your wishes, but would like you to consider the matter again."

Knowing that the prince was too soft-hearted to take his advice, Jing Ke went privately to Fan Yuqi.

"The king of Qin has abused you cruelly," he said. "Your parents and kinsmen have been put to the sword, and now I hear a reward of a thousand catties of gold and a fief of ten thousand families has been offered for your head. What do you mean to do?"

General Fan gazed up at the sky and sighed, then shed tears.

"The thought of this makes me burn with hatred to the very marrow of my bones!" he cried. "But I cannot think of any way to take vengeance."

"I have a plan to avert danger from Yan and to avenge you," said Jing Ke. "Would you care to hear it?"

General Fan stepped forward.

"Tell me what it is," he begged.

"If I could have your head to present to the king of Qin, he would receive me with pleasure; then with my left hand I should seize his sleeve, and with my right hand stab him through the heart. You would be avenged and our prince would pay off an old score. Are you willing to help me?"

General Fan bared one arm and advanced clasping his wrists.

【原文】

腕而进曰：“此臣之日夜切齿腐心也，乃今得闻教！”遂自刭。太子闻之，驰往，伏尸而哭，极哀。既已无可奈何，乃遂盛樊於期首，函封之。

于是太子豫求天下之利匕首，得赵人徐夫人匕首，取之百金，使工以药淬之。以试人，血濡缕，人无不立死者。乃装为遣荆卿。燕国有勇士秦舞阳，年十三，杀人，人不敢忤视。乃令秦舞阳为副。荆轲有所待，欲与俱；其人居远未来，而为治行。顷之，未发，太子迟之，疑其改悔，乃复请曰：“日已尽矣，荆卿岂有意哉？丹请得先遣秦舞阳。”荆轲怒叱太子曰：“何太子之遣？往而不反者，竖子也！且提一匕首入不测之强秦，仆所以留者，待吾

【今译】

膀子，用左手扼住右手的腕子，走上前说：“这是我日夜切齿碎心的事，今天才听到了您的指教！”就自刎了。太子听说了，驱车前往，伏在尸体上痛哭，非常悲痛。既然已经无可奈何了，于是就把樊於期的人头装到盒子里密封起来。

于是太子预先访求天下锋利的匕首，得到了赵国人徐夫人的匕首，买取它用了百镒黄金，让工匠用毒药淬它，用它试着杀人，只要渗出一丝血，人没有不立即死去的。就准备行装安排荆卿出发。燕国有个勇士秦舞阳，十三岁就杀了人，人们都不敢正面看他。太子就让秦舞阳作荆轲的副手。荆轲在等待一个朋友，想和他一起去；那个人住的远，还没有赶来，太子已经替荆轲准备好了行装。过了不久，荆轲还没出发，太子认为他延迟了时间，怀疑他反悔了，就又促请荆轲说：“时间已经耗尽了，荆卿还有意做吗？请允许我先派遣秦舞阳。”荆轲大怒，斥责太子说：“太子怎么这么派遣？只顾一去而不顾完成使命回来，是傻小子也能办到的！况且提一把匕首到有不测的强秦去，我所以留在这





"This is the chance for which I have been waiting day and night, gnashing my teeth and burning with rage!" he cried. "Now you have pointed out the way."

Thereupon he killed himself.

When the prince knew of this, he hurried there to lament bitterly over the corpse; then, since there was nothing he could do, he had Fan's head placed in a sealed casket. He had been searching for a fine dagger and found one made by Xu Furen of Zhao, which cost a hundred pieces of gold. Now he made his artisans temper this dagger in poison, and upon testing it found that if it drew blood — be it only a drop sufficient to stain a thread — the result was instant death. Then Prince Dan helped Jing Ke to prepare for his journey. In Yan there lived a bold youth of thirteen named Qin Wuyang, a killer from whose angry glance everyone shrank. He was chosen as Jing Ke's assistant.

But Jing Ke was waiting for another assistant of his own choice who lived some distance away, and while making arrangements for this man to come he delayed his departure. Then Prince Dan lost patience, suspecting that Jing Ke had repented of his promise.

"Time is running out," he said. "Do you want to change your mind? Maybe I had better send Qin Wuyang first?"

"Why send a boy to certain death?" roared Jing Ke in a rage. "I am going to powerful Qin armed only with a dagger. I was waiting for a



【原文】

客与俱。今太子迟之，请辞决矣！”遂发。

太子及宾客知其事者，皆白衣冠以送之。至易水之上，既祖，取道，高渐离击筑，荆轲和而歌，为变徵之声，士皆垂泪涕泣。又前而为歌曰：“风萧萧兮易水寒，壮士一去兮不复还！”复为羽声慷慨，士皆瞋目，发尽上指冠。于是荆轲就车而去，终已不顾。

遂至秦，持千金之资币物，厚遗秦王宠臣中庶子蒙嘉。嘉为先言于秦王曰：“燕王诚振怖大王之威，不敢举兵以逆军吏，愿举国为内臣，比诸侯之列，给贡职如郡县，而得奉守先王之宗庙。恐惧不敢自陈，谨斩樊於期之头，及献燕督亢之地图，函封，燕

【今译】

儿，是想等我的朋友一起去。现在太子嫌迟了，就请辞别吧！”便出发了。

太子和知道此事的宾客，都穿戴着白衣白帽来送他。到了易水边上，祭了路神后，就上了路，高渐离击着筑，荆轲和着拍子唱歌，发出了凄凉的变徵音调，人们都流泪哭泣。又一边前进一边唱歌：“风萧萧啊易水寒，壮士一去啊不复还！”歌声又变成了慷慨激昂的羽声，人们都瞪着眼，头发都直立顶着帽子。这时荆轲上车离去，一直没有再回头。

到了秦国，荆轲拿着价值千金的财物，给秦王宠臣中庶子蒙嘉送了厚礼。蒙嘉为他们先向秦王介绍说：“燕王确实非常害怕大王的威严，不敢举兵来抵抗大王的军兵，愿意举国作秦国的臣子，排在诸侯的行列里，像郡县那样供给贡物和赋税，只要能够奉守先王的宗庙。心里害怕不敢亲自来陈述，特此郑重地斩下樊於期的人头，还献上燕国督亢地区的地图，用盒子封好，燕王在



friend to go with me on this desperate mission. But if you are so impatient, I will leave now."

So he set out. The prince and those who knew of the plan, dressed in white mourning clothes, escorted him to the River Yi where they sacrificed to the god of the roads before he began his journey. Gao Jianli played the guitar and Jing Ke sang a plaintive air which moved all who heard it to tears. Then he stepped forward and chanted:

The wind is wailing, cold the River Yi,
And a hero sets forth, never to return.

After this he sang a stirring, martial air, which made their eyes bulge with anger and their hair stand on end. Then he mounted his carriage and drove off without further ado.

Upon reaching Qin, Jing Ke bribed the king's favourite, the chamberlain Meng Jia, with money and gifts worth a thousand pieces of gold. And Meng Jia explained his mission to the king.

"The king of Yan trembles before your might and dares not oppose your troops," he said. "He begs to become your subject like the other princes and send tribute like your provinces, in order to continue his ancestral sacrifices. He was afraid to come in person to announce this, but he has cut off Fan Yuqi's head to present to you in a sealed casket with the map of Dukang in Yan. The envoy who brought these

【原文】

王拜送于庭，使使以闻大王，惟大王命之。”秦王闻之，大喜，乃朝服，设九宾，见燕使者咸阳宫。荆轲奉樊於期头函，而秦舞阳奉地图匣，以次进。至陛，秦舞阳色变振恐，群臣怪之。荆轲顾笑舞阳，前谢曰：“北蕃蛮夷之鄙人，未尝见天子，故振慑。愿大王少假借之，使得毕使于前。”秦王谓轲曰：“取舞阳所持地图。”轲既取图奏之，秦王发图，图穷而匕首见。因左手把秦王之袖，而右手持匕首搠之。未至身，秦王惊，自引而起，袖绝。拔剑，剑长，操其室。时惶急，剑坚，故不可立拔。荆轲逐秦王，秦王环柱而走。群臣皆愕，卒起不意，尽失其度。而秦法，群臣侍殿上者不得持尺寸之兵；诸郎中执兵皆陈殿下，非有诏召

【今译】

朝廷上亲自拜送，派使臣来报知大王，请大王指示。”秦王听说了，非常高兴，就穿上朝服，安排了九宾的礼节，在咸阳宫接见燕国使者。荆轲捧着盛着樊於期人头的盒子，秦舞阳捧着地图匣子，依次进入。到了台阶下，秦舞阳脸色突变，发抖害怕，群臣感到奇怪。荆轲回头讥笑秦舞阳，上前谢罪说：“北方番国蛮夷地区的乡下人，没曾见过天子，因而发抖害怕。希望大王稍微原谅他一下，使他能够在大王面前完成使命。”秦王对荆轲说：“取来秦舞阳所拿的地图。”荆轲取来地图献上，秦王打开地图，地图展到了尽头，匕首露了出来。荆轲就左手抓住秦王的衣袖，右手持匕首刺去。匕首还没到身前，秦王大惊，自己赶忙站起身来，衣袖拉断了。秦王拔剑，剑太长，仅抓住了剑鞘。当时惊惶急迫，剑又套得紧，所以不能立刻拔出来。荆轲追逐秦王，秦王绕着柱子跑。群臣都惊呆了，事情来得仓促，出人意料，都失去了常态。秦国的法律规定，在殿上侍卫的群臣不能携带任何武器；各侍卫的郎中都手拿兵器列在殿下，除非有诏令召见不得上殿。





here is awaiting Your Majesty's orders."

Very pleased at this, the king of Qin prepared a grand reception in Xianyang Palace to receive the envoy from Yan. Jing Ke entered first with the sealed casket containing Fan Yuqi's head, followed by Qin Wuyang with the map case. When they reached the steps to the dais, the ministers were surprised to see Qin Wuyang change colour and tremble; but Jing Ke stepped forward with a laugh to apologize, saying, "He is a rough country fellow from the barbarous north who is overawed by his first sight of Your Majesty. Please excuse him so that we can carry out our mission."

The king bade Jing Ke hand him the map which Qin Wuyang was holding, and he unrolled it to reveal the dagger. Jing Ke seized the king's sleeve with his left hand, snatching up the dagger to stab him with his right. Before he could strike, however, the king leapt up in alarm and his sleeve tore off. He tried to draw his long sword but it stuck in the scabbard, and in his panic he could not pull it out. The king fled behind a pillar with Jing Ke in hot pursuit, while the ministers, taken by surprise, were thrown into confusion.

According to the law of Qin, ministers were forbidden to bear arms in the audience hall and the royal guards in the courtyard could not enter without orders from their sovereign; but the king in his panic



【原文】

不得上。方急时，不及召下兵，以故荆轲乃逐秦王。而卒惶急，无以击轲，而以手共搏之。是时侍医夏无且以其所奉药囊提荆轲也。秦王方环柱走，卒惶急，不知所为，左右乃曰：“王负剑！”负剑，遂拔以击荆轲，断其左股。荆轲废，乃引其匕首以掷秦王，不中，中桐柱。秦王复击轲，轲被八创。轲自知事不就，倚柱而笑，箕踞以骂曰：“事所以不成者，以欲生劫之，必得约契以报太子也。”于是左右既前杀轲，秦王不怡者良久。已而论功，赏群臣及当坐者各有差，而赐夏无且黄金二百溢，曰：“无且爱我，乃以药囊提荆轲也。”

于是秦王大怒，益发兵诣赵，诏王翦军以伐燕。十月而拔蓟

【今译】

正在危急时分，来不及召唤殿下的士兵，因此荆轲才能追逐秦王。仓猝之际，群臣惊惶急迫，没有武器来击打荆轲，就徒手一起打他。这时侍医夏无且用他捧着的药囊投击荆轲。秦王正绕着柱子跑，仓猝惊惶之际，不知道怎么办，左右才说：“大王把剑推到背上！”秦王把剑推到背上，于是就拔出来砍荆轲，砍断了他的左腿。荆轲残废了，就举起匕首投掷秦王，没有击中，击中了桐柱。秦王又砍荆轲，荆轲被砍伤八处。荆轲自己知道事情不成了，靠着柱子笑起来，岔开腿坐着骂道：“事情之所以没有成功，是因为想活着劫持你，一定要得到条约契据来回报太子啊。”于是左右便上前杀死荆轲，秦王不高兴了很久。不久论功评过，赏赐群臣以及应当治罪的各有差别，赐给夏无且黄金二百镒，说道：“无且爱我，才拿药囊投击荆轲啊。”

于是秦王大怒，增派兵力前往赵国，命令王翦的军队攻打燕国。十月而拔取蓟城。燕王喜、太子丹等全都率领精兵向东退守



did not call for them. So while Jing Ke pursued the king, the panic-stricken ministers, having no weapons, tried to ward him off with their bare hands; and the king's physician, Xia Wuju, used his bag of herbs to beat the assassin off. Too terrified to know what to do, the king was running round the pillar when some attendants shouted:

"Put the sword over your shoulder, Your Majesty!"

He did so and, drawing his sword, struck Jing Ke a blow that shattered his left leg. Unable to move, Jing Ke hurled his dagger at the king, but missed him and hit the bronze pillar instead. The king struck again and again, inflicting eight wounds. Then, knowing that all was up with him, Jing Ke squatted against the pillar with a scornful smile.

"I failed through trying to take you alive," he swore. "And because I was determined to force you to agree to our prince's demands!"

At that, attendants ran forward and finished him off. The king brooded in silence for a while, then rewarded those who had been of service and punished others. His physician, Xia Wuju, received two hundred pieces of gold for his loyalty.

And now the king of Qin, roused to fury, dispatched more troops to the east and ordered Wang Jian to advance from Zhao upon Yan.



【原文】

城。燕王喜、太子丹等尽率其精兵东保于辽东。秦将李信追击燕王急，代王嘉乃遗燕王喜书曰：“秦所以尤追燕急者，以太子丹故也。今王诚杀丹献之秦王，秦王必解，而社稷幸得血食。”其后李信追丹，丹匿衍水中，燕王乃使使斩太子丹，欲献之秦。秦复进兵攻之。后五年，秦卒灭燕，虏燕王喜。

其明年，秦并天下，立号为皇帝。于是秦逐太子丹、荆轲之客，皆亡。高渐离变名姓为人庸保，匿作于宋子。久之，作苦，闻其家堂上客击筑，彷徨不能去。每出言曰：“彼有善不善。”从者以告其主，曰：“彼庸乃知音，窃言是非。”家丈人召使前击筑，一坐称善，赐酒。而高渐离念久隐畏约无穷时，乃退，出其

【今译】

辽东郡。秦将李信追击燕王很急，代王赵嘉就给燕王姬喜送信说：“秦国之所以特别急地追赶燕王，是因为太子丹的缘故。现在大王如果真的杀了太子丹献给秦王，秦王一定宽解，社稷也幸而能享受祭祀。”此后李信追赶太子丹，太子丹躲藏在衍水中，燕王就派使臣斩了太子丹，想献给秦国。秦国又进兵攻打他。五年后，秦国终于灭了燕国，俘虏了燕王喜。

第二年，秦国吞并天下，立号为皇帝。当时秦国追捕太子丹、荆轲的朋友，他们都逃走了。高渐离改名换姓给别人作酒保，躲藏在宋子一地劳作。过了很久，感到劳作很辛苦，听到他主人家堂上有宾客击筑，徘徊不忍离去。经常脱口而出说：“他击筑有好有不好。”侍候的人把这话告诉了他主人，说：“那个酒保是个知音，他私下里谈论击筑的好坏。”家主人召来他，让他到堂前击筑，满座的人都说好，就赐给他酒。高渐离想到要长久地隐居在贫贱的环境中，担惊受怕，这样没个尽头，就退出来，拿



After ten months Ji, the capital of Yan, fell; and King Xi of Yan and Prince Dan withdrew eastwards with their best troops to Liaodong. General Li Xin of Qin was pressing them hard when King Jia of Dai³ wrote to the king of Yan, "Qin is pursuing you hotly because of Prince Dan. If you present the prince's head to the king of Qin, he will surely make terms with you and your state sacrifices will not be ended."

Li Xin pursued Prince Dan to the River Yan, and the king of Yan had the prince killed by an assassin and presented his head to Qin; but Qin continued to attack. Five years later Yan was finally destroyed and King Xi taken prisoner. By the following year the king of Qin had conquered all the states and styled himself emperor, but he did not cease to persecute the friends of Prince Dan and Jing Ke, all of whom went into hiding.

Gao Jianli changed his name and became a waiter, living incognito in Songzi. He worked hard for his master until one day, hearing a guitar played in the hall, he could not tear himself away but lingered to comment on the music. The other servants reported this to their master.

"That fellow understands music," they told him. "He is secretly commenting on what is good and bad in the palying."

Then his master ordered him to come forward to strum the guitar, and all the guests marvelled at his skill and offered him wine. Gao Jianli decided that he had been in hiding long enough and could not continue indefinitely in this way, so he fetched his guitar and good clothes from



【原文】

装匣中筑与其善衣，更容貌而前。举坐客皆惊，下与抗礼，以为上客。使击筑而歌，客无不流涕而去者。宋子传客之，闻于秦始皇。秦始皇召见，人有识者，乃曰：“高渐离也。”秦皇帝惜其善击筑，重赦之，乃矐其目。使击筑，未尝不称善。稍益近之，高渐离乃以铅置筑中，复进得近，举筑朴秦皇帝，不中。于是遂诛高渐离，终身不复近诸侯之人。

鲁句践已闻荆轲之刺秦王，私曰：“嗟乎！惜哉其不讲于刺剑之术也！甚矣吾不知人也！曩者吾叱之，彼乃以我为非人也！”

太史公曰：世言荆轲，其称太子丹之命，“天雨粟，马生

【今译】

出他装在匣子中的筑和他的好衣服，改换容貌到了堂前。满座的宾客都惊讶了，下来和他平等施礼，作为座上客。让他击筑歌唱，宾客没有不流泪而去的。宋子的人轮流款待他，此事被秦始皇知道了。秦始皇召见他，有人认识他，就说：“这是高渐离。”秦始皇爱惜他善于击筑，又赦免了他的死罪，把他的眼睛熏瞎了。让他击筑，没有一次不说好的。秦始皇逐渐接近他，高渐离就把铅块塞到筑心里，等到又一次进见时得以靠近秦始皇，就举筑扑击秦始皇，没有击中。于是秦始皇就杀了高渐离，终身不再亲近六国的人。

鲁句践听说了荆轲刺秦王的事，私下说：“唉呀！可惜他不讲求击剑的技术啊！我不了解他也太过分了！过去我斥责过他，他就把我看成了不是一类人！”

太史公说：世间传说荆轲的故事，其中说到太子丹的天命，



his baggage, and when he reappeared richly dressed all the guests bowed to him in amazement. They made him sit in the seat of honour to play the guitar and sing, and were moved to tears before they left.

Subsequently all the chief citizens of Songzi invited him to their houses, and news of this reached the First Emperor of Qin, who summoned him to court. Someone recognizing him turned informer; but the emperor thought so highly of his playing that instead of killing him he put out his eyes and made him perform at court. And the emperor enjoyed his music so much that little by little he let the blind man approach him. Then Gao Jianli weighted his guitar with lead and when he was close enough raised it to strike, but he missed his enemy. He was immediately put to death, and never again did the emperor allow followers of the former princes to approach him.

When Lu Goujian heard of Jing Ke's attempt on the king of Qin, he said to his friends, "What a pity he did not make a better study of swordsmanship, and that I failed to recognize his greatness! After I shouted at him that day, he must have thought me beneath contempt."

The Grand Historian comments: In the popular story about Jing Ke, the statements about grain falling from heaven and horses growing

【原文】

角”也，太过。又言荆轲伤秦王，皆非也。始公孙季功、董生与夏无且游，具知其事，为余道之如是。自曹沫至荆轲五人，此其义或成或不成，然其立意较然，不欺其志，名垂后世，岂妄也哉！

【今译】

什么“天上落下粟，马头生出角”，太过分了。又说到荆轲刺伤了秦王，都不是事实。当初公孙季功、董生和夏无且交游，详细地知道此事，他们对我说的即如上所述。从曹沫到荆轲五个人，这些人的侠义行动有的成功有的不成功，可是他们的存心都很明显，不辱没他们的志气，名声流传后世，难道是虚妄的么！





horns are simply wild talk. Another tradition, which maintains that Jing Ke succeeded in wounding the king of Qin, is equally untrue. Gongsun Jigong and the scholar Dong, who were friends at one time with the king of Qin's physician Xia Wuju, knew what happened and I have reported what they told me.

Of the five men from Cao Mo to Jing Ke, some succeeded in their mission while others failed; but all were equally determined and loyal to their cause. Not for nothing have their names been known to later generations.

¹ 693-662 B.C.

² A rich district in Yan.

³ Tai was a small state annexed by Zhao but reinstated after the annexation of Zhao by Qin.



淮阴侯列传

【原文】

淮阴侯韩信者，淮阴人也。始为布衣时，贫无行，不得推择为吏，又不能治生商贾，常从人寄食饮，人多厌之者。常数从其下乡南昌亭长寄食，数月，亭长妻患之，乃晨炊蓐食。食时信往，不为具食。信亦知其意，怒，竟绝去。

信钓于城下，诸母漂，有一母见信饥，饭信，竟漂数十日。信喜，谓漂母曰：“吾必有以重报母。”母怒曰：“大丈夫不能自食，吾哀王孙而进食，岂望报乎！”

【今译】

淮阴侯韩信，是淮阴人。当初他还是平民的时候，家里贫穷而又没有操行，没能被推选为地方官吏，也不会经商谋生，经常跟着别人蹭吃蹭喝，人们大都讨厌他。他曾多次到下乡南昌亭亭长家里去蹭饭吃，接连几个月，亭长的妻子对他很厌烦，于是就早早地做好早饭在床上把饭吃了。到吃饭的时候韩信来了，就不再给他准备饭。韩信也明白他们的用意，很生气，从此就和他们断绝关系离开了。

韩信在城下钓鱼，有几位老大娘在那里漂洗绵絮，有一个大娘看见韩信饿了，就给他饭吃，直到几十天后漂洗的活儿做完。韩信很高兴，对那位大娘说：“我一定有办法重重报答您。”大娘生气地说：“大丈夫不能自己养活自己，我是可怜你才给你饭吃的，难道是希望你报答吗！”



Han Xin, Marquis of Huaiyin

Han Xin, Marquis of Huaiyin, was a man of Huaiyin. Starting life as a poor and undistinguished commoner, he was neither recommended for any official post nor able to make a living by trade. He kept sponging on others and was generally disliked. After he had imposed for several months on the hospitality of the constable of Nanchang in the local township, the constable's wife lost patience. One morning she cooked early and ate in bed so that Han Xin, arriving for breakfast, found no food prepared. Taking the hint, he went off in a rage.

Another time he went fishing by a river where some old women were bleaching silk, and one of them, noticing how famished he looked, fed him for twenty or thirty days until the work was finished.

Han Xin was very grateful. "I promise to repay you well some day," he said.

The old woman retorted angrily, "You're a grown man yet you can't keep yourself. I fed you out of pity, sir, not in the hope of repayment."

【原文】

淮阴屠中少年有侮信者，曰：“若虽长大，好带刀剑，中情怯耳。”众辱之曰：“信能死，刺我；不能死，出我胯下。”于是信孰视之，俯出胯下，蒲伏。一市人皆笑信，以为怯。

及项梁渡淮，信杖剑从之，居麾下，无所知名。项梁败，又属项羽，羽以为郎中。数以策干项羽，羽不用。汉王入蜀，信亡楚归汉，未得知名，为连敖。坐法当斩，其辈十三人皆已斩，次至信，信乃仰视，适见滕公，曰：“上不欲就天下乎？何为斩壮士？”滕公奇其言，壮其貌，释而不斩。与语，大说之。言于上，上拜以为治粟都尉，上未之奇也。

【今译】

淮阴的屠户中有个年轻人侮辱韩信，说：“你虽然长得高大，喜欢带刀佩剑，心中其实很胆怯。”又当众侮辱韩信说：“你韩信不怕死，就用剑来刺我；不敢去死，就从我裆下爬过去。”于是韩信盯了他很久，伏下身子钻到他的裆下，爬了过去。街上的人都嘲笑韩信，认为他胆小。

当项梁渡过淮河时，韩信带着剑跟随项梁，做项梁的部下，没有什么名气。项梁战败后，他又归属项羽，项羽任他为郎中。他曾多次向项羽献策，项羽都没有采用。汉王入蜀时，韩信逃离楚军归附了汉王，没能出名，只担任管理粮仓的小官。后来他犯法当处斩刑，同罪的十三人都已处斩，轮到韩信时，他抬头仰视，正好看见了滕公，说：“汉王不是想统一天下吗？为什么要杀壮士呢？”滕公听了他的话后感到很惊奇，又觉得他相貌非凡，于是就把他放了没杀。和他交谈了一番，很欣赏他。并把此事告诉了汉王，汉王任命他为治粟都尉，但并没有感到他有什么奇特的地方。



A young butcher in Huaiyin sneered at Han Xin, saying, "You may be hefty and like to wear a sword, but at heart you are a coward." Then he taunted him publicly and swore, "If you want to die, stab me. If not, crawl between my legs."

Han Xin surveyed him carefully, then squatted down and crawled between the man's legs, while the whole market jeered at his cowardice.

When Xiang Liang crossed the River Huai, Han Xin girded on his sword and joined him, but failed to make a name under his command. After Xiang Liang's defeat he joined Xiang Yu, who made him one of his bodyguards. He advised Xiang Yu on strategy several times, but his advice was never taken.

When Liu Bang went to Shu, Han Xin left Xiang Yu to join Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) but still did not win fame, merely serving as an officer in charge of guests. He was condemned to death for some offence. Thirteen others were beheaded before him, but when it came to Han Xin's turn he looked up and saw Lord Teng.

"Does our prince not want to conquer the empire?" he cried. "Why behead a brave man?"

Impressed by his words and struck by his appearance, Lord Teng pardoned him, spoke with him, and liked all he said. He recommended him to Liu Bang, who made him the commissary general but still did not appreciate his ability.

【原文】

信数与萧何语，何奇之。至南郑，诸将行道亡者数十人，信度何等已数言上，上不我用，即亡。何闻信亡，不及以闻，自追之。人有言上曰：“丞相何亡。”上大怒，如失左右手。居一二日，何来谒上，上且怒且喜，骂何曰：“若亡，何也？”何曰：“臣不敢亡也，臣追亡者。”上曰：“若所追者谁？”何曰：“韩信也。”上复骂曰：“诸将亡者以十数，公无所追；追信，诈也。”何曰：“诸将易得耳，至如信者，国士无双。王必欲长王汉中，无所事信；必欲争天下，非信无所与计事者。顾王策安所决耳。”王曰：“吾亦欲东耳，安能郁郁久居此乎？”何曰：“王计必欲东，能用信，信即

【今译】

韩信曾多次与萧何谈话，萧何觉得他与众不同。在去南郑的途中，将领中有数十人半路逃走了，韩信猜测萧何等人已经多次向汉王推荐过自己，汉王并不想起用自己，于是他也逃走了。萧何听说韩信逃走以后，来不及向汉王报告，就亲自去追赶韩信。有人向汉王说：“丞相萧何逃跑了。”汉王听了非常生气，如同失去了左右手一样。过了一两天，萧何来拜见汉王，汉王又生气又高兴，骂萧何说：“你逃走是为什么？”萧何说：“我不敢逃走，我是去追逃跑的人。”汉王说：“你追的人是谁？”萧何说：“是韩信。”汉王又骂道：“将领中逃跑的有几十个，你都没有去追；说追韩信，是骗人。”萧何说：“那些将领容易得到。至于像韩信这样的人，是国家独一无二的人才。大王如果只想长期称王于汉中，那就用不着韩信；如果决心争夺天下，除了韩信就没有能和您共计大事的人了。现在只看大王怎样决定了。”汉王说：“我也想向东扩展，怎么能闷闷地长期呆在这里呢？”萧何说：“如果大王决心向东扩展，能起用韩信，韩信就会留下来；如果不能起用



Han Xin had several talks with Xiao He, who was much impressed by him. On the way to Nancheng several dozen officers deserted and Han Xin, reflecting that Xiao He and others had recommended him several times to no purpose, deserted too. As soon as Xiao He knew this, he set off in pursuit without stopping to ask permission. Others reported, "The prime minister has gone too!" and Liu Bang was as furious as if he had lost an arm. A couple of days later, however, Xiao He returned to Liu Bang who, torn between joy and anger, swore at him.

"Why did you desert?" he demanded.

"How would I dare desert, sir?" retorted Xiao He. "I ran after a deserter."

"Who was that?"

"Han Xin."

Liu Bang swore another oath. "Dozens of officers have deserted, but you did not run after them. You must be lying."

"Other officers are easy to come by, but Han Xin has not his equal in the country. If you are satisfied with ruling Hanzhong, then you do not need him. But if you want to win the empire, Han Xin is the only man who can help you to do it. All depends on your aims."

"Of course I want to march east. How can I stay cooped up here indefinitely?"

"If you plan to march east eventually and can use him, he will stay."



【原文】

留；不能用，信终亡耳。”王曰：“吾为公以为将。”何曰：“虽为将，信必不留。”王曰：“以为大将。”何曰：“幸甚！”于是王欲召信拜之。何曰：“王素慢无礼，今拜大将，如呼小儿耳，此乃信所以去也。王必欲拜之，择良日，斋戒，设坛场，具礼，乃可耳。”王许之。诸将皆喜，人人各自以为得大将。至拜大将，乃韩信也，一军皆惊。

信拜礼毕，上坐。王曰：“丞相数言将军，将军何以教寡人计策？”信谢，因问王曰：“今东乡争权天下，岂非项王邪？”汉王曰：“然。”曰：“大王自料勇悍仁强孰与项王？”汉王默然良久，曰：

【今译】

韩信，韩信最后还是会逃走的。”汉王说：“我看你的面子任命他为将领。”萧何说：“即使你任命他为将领，韩信也一定不会留下来。”汉王说：“任命他为大将。”萧何说：“太好了！”于是汉王就要召见韩信任命他为大将军。萧何说：“大王一向对人轻慢无礼，现在任命大将军就好像呼唤小孩子似的，这就是韩信要离去的原因。大王决计拜任他为大将军，就选个好日子，沐浴斋戒，筑场设坛，准备好仪式，这才可以。”汉王答应了萧何的要求。诸位将领都很高兴，每个人都以为自己会得到大将军的职位。等到任命大将军时，却是韩信，全军都感到惊讶。

韩信在授职仪式结束后，就到上位坐了下来。汉王说：“丞相多次赞赏将军，将军将用什么良策来教导我呢？”韩信谦让了一番，接着问汉王：“现在要向东争夺天下霸权，对手不就是项王吗？”汉王说：“对。”韩信说：“大王自己估计在勇敢善战、兵力精强方面与项王相比怎么样？”汉王沉默了好大一会儿，说：“我



Otherwise he will end up by deserting again."

"To please you, I'll make him a general."

"A general's rank will not hold him."

"Then I'll make him the chief marshal."

"Very good!"

Liu Bang was about to summon Han Xin to confer this appointment on him, when Xiao He said, "You are too offhand and lacking in politeness, sir, appointing a chief marshal as if you were calling for a child. That is why Han Xin left. If you mean to appoint him, choose an auspicious day and prepare an altar after fasting and purification: that will do."

To this Liu Bang agreed. His generals were pleased by the news that a chief marshal was to be appointed, each fancying that he was to be the man. The whole army was astounded when the title was conferred on Han Xin.

After the ceremony, Han took his seat and Liu Bang said, "The prime minister has spoken of you many times. What do you advise me to do?"

Han Xin first expressed his gratitude, then asked, "Are you not contending in the east with Xiang Yu for the empire?"

"I am," replied Liu Bang.

"How do you compare with Xiang Yu in courage and magnanimity?"

After a thoughtful silence Liu Bang answered, "I am not his equal."

【原文】

“不如也。”信再拜贺曰：“惟信亦为大王不如也。然臣尝事之，请言项王之为人也。项王嗜啍叱咤，千人皆废，然不能任属贤将，此特匹夫之勇耳。项王见人恭敬慈爱，言语呕呕，人有疾病，涕泣分食饮，至使人有功当封爵者，印刖弊，忍不能予，此所谓妇人之仁也。项王虽霸天下而臣诸侯，不居关中而都彭城。有背义帝之约，而以亲爱王，诸侯不平。诸侯之见项王迁逐义帝置江南，亦皆归逐其主而自王善地。项王所过无不残灭者，天下多怨，百姓不亲附，特劫于威强耳。名虽为霸，实失天下心。故曰其强易弱。今大王诚能反其道，任天下武勇，何所不诛！以天下城邑封功臣，何所

【今译】

不如项王。”韩信对汉王拜了两拜说：“就是我也认为大王在这几方面不如他。然而我曾事奉过他，请让我谈谈项王的为人。项王发怒呼喊时，千百人都吓得胆战腿软，然而他不能任用有才能的将领，这只不过是匹夫之勇罢了。项王待人恭敬慈爱，言语温和，有人生了病，他就流着泪把自己的食物分给他们吃，但到别人有了功劳应当封爵时，他把封爵的印信把玩得没了棱角，还舍不得授给人家，这就是所谓的像女人一样的仁慈。项王虽然称霸天下而使诸侯称臣，但他不守着关中而以彭城为都城。他又违背了与义帝的约定，而把自己亲信的人封为王，诸侯们都愤愤不平。诸侯们看见项王把义帝驱逐到江南，也都回去驱逐他们的君主而占据了好地方自立为王。项王军队经过的地方没有不遭到蹂躏和破坏的，天下的人都很怨恨他们，百姓也不愿归附他们，只不过是迫于威势罢了。名义上虽为霸王，实际上已失去了民心。所以说他的强大很容易就会削弱。现在大王果能反其道而行之，任用天下勇敢善战的人，什么敌人不能被诛灭！把天下的城邑封给





Han Xin bowed approvingly and said, "I agree, sir. But having served under him, I can tell you what Xiang Yu is like. When Xiang Yu bellows with rage a thousand men are rooted to the ground, but since he cannot appoint worthy commanders all he has is the courage of a single man. He is polite, kindly and an amiable talker. If a man falls ill he will shed tears and share his meal with him; but when a man renders such services that he deserves a fief, Xiang Yu plays with the seal till its corners are rubbed off before he can bring himself to part with it. This is what is called womanly kindness."

"Although Xiang Yu is overlord of all the states, he would not stay within the Pass but has made his capital at Pengcheng. He has broken faith with the Righteous Emperor and made his own favourites princes, so that all the hereditary princes are discontented. When they saw that he banished the Righteous Emperor to the south, they in turn drove away their own rulers to make themselves kings in the best regions. Moreover, since Xiang Yu spreads ruin wherever he goes, he is detested by most of the world and the common people do not follow him out of affection but because they must submit to his might. Although he has the title of overlord, he has lost the hearts of the people. Hence his power can easily be undermined.

"If you, sir, follow a different course, relying on brave men from every state, you will carry all before you. If you reward those who have served you well with different cities, everyone will submit to you. If



【原文】

不服!以义兵从思东归之士,何所不散!且三秦王为秦将,将秦子弟数岁矣,所杀亡不可胜计,又欺其众降诸侯,至新安,项王诈坑秦降卒二十余万,唯独邯、欣、翳得脱,秦父兄怨此三人,痛入骨髓。今楚强以威王此三人,秦民莫爱也。大王之入武关,秋豪无所害,除秦苛法,与秦民约,法三章耳,秦民无不欲得大王王秦者。于诸侯之约,大王当王关中,关中民咸知之。大王失职入汉中,秦民无不恨者。今大王举而东,三秦可传檄而定也。”于是汉王大喜,自以为得信晚,遂听信计,部署诸将所击。

八月,汉王举兵东出陈仓,定三秦。汉二年,出关,收魏、河

【今译】

有功之臣,那还有什么人会不服从您!以正义之师跟从想东还的将领,什么敌人不能打败!况且三秦的王都是秦的将领,率领秦地子弟征战几年了,被杀和逃跑的不计其数,又骗他们向诸侯投降,到新安,项王用欺骗手段活埋了秦军投降的士兵二十多万人,只有章邯、司马欣、董翳得以逃脱,秦地父老乡亲怨恨这三个人,恨入骨髓。如今楚王藉威势让这三个人称王,秦地百姓没有人喜欢他们。大王您进入武关时,秋毫无犯,废除了秦朝的苛刻刑法,和秦地的百姓立约,法令只有三条罢了,秦地的百姓没有一个不希望大王在秦地做王的。根据诸侯们的约定,大王当在关中为王,关中的百姓也都知道这件事。大王失掉封爵进入汉中,秦地的百姓没有人不觉得遗憾。现在大王举兵东进,三秦之地只要发一道檄文就可安定了。”这时汉王听了非常高兴,自己也认为与韩信相见太晚了。于是听从了韩信的计策,部署了各位将领攻击的方向。

八月,汉王率军从陈仓东进,平定了三秦之地。汉二年(公元



you lead troops who fight for justice and are eager to return to the east, all your enemies must scatter before you.

“In the years when they commanded the sons of Qin as Qin generals the three princes ruling over the land of Qin slaughtered more men than we can count; but they tricked their men into surrendering to Xiang Yu, and at Xin’an by a dastardly trick he massacred more than two hundred thousand of those who had surrendered, sparing only the three generals Zhang Han, Sima Xin and Dong Yi. So the elders of Qin hate these three to the very marrow of their bones! Chu has set them up by force as kings, and the people of Qin have no love for them.”

“When you entered the Wu Pass, you did not touch a single plant but repealed the harsh laws and only laid down three rules to bind the men of Qin, so that all of them want you to be their ruler. According to the agreement reached by the feudal lords, it is you, Great King, who should rule within the Passes, and all the people there know it. When you were deprived of your rightful throne and went to Hanzhong, everyone in Qin was sorry. Now if you lead your forces east, you can conquer the land of Qin simply by issuing a proclamation.”

Liu Bang was overjoyed and wished he had consulted Han Xin earlier. Acting on his advice, he assigned tasks to his commanders.

In the eighth month Liu Bang led his men east from Chencang and conquered the land of Qin. In the second year of Han¹ he advanced east from the Pass and took Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) south of the river.

【原文】

南，韩、殷王皆降。合齐、赵共击楚。四月，至彭城，汉兵败散而还。信复收兵与汉王会荥阳，复击破楚京、索之间。以故楚兵卒不能西。

汉之败却彭城，塞王欣、翟王翳亡汉降楚，齐、赵亦反汉与楚和。六月，魏王豹谒归视亲疾，至国，即绝河关反汉，与楚约和。汉王使酈生说豹，不下。其八月，以信为左丞相，击魏。魏王盛兵蒲坂，塞临晋，信乃益为疑兵，陈船欲度临晋，而伏兵从夏阳以木罌瓠渡军，袭安邑。魏王豹惊，引兵迎信，信遂虏豹，定魏为河东郡。汉王遣张耳与信俱，引兵东，北击赵、代。后九月，破代兵，

【今译】

前 205 年)，出函谷关，收降了魏王魏豹、河南王申阳，韩王、殷王也都投降。于是联合齐、赵共同攻打楚军。四月，到彭城，汉军被击溃而回。韩信把溃散的士兵又集中起来和汉王会师荥阳，又在京、索之间打败了楚军。因此楚军最终不能向西进攻。

汉军在彭城兵败退走时，塞王司马欣、翟王董翳叛汉降楚，齐、赵二国也反汉与楚联合。六月，魏王魏豹请假回家探望有病的父母，一到自己的封国，马上就封锁了黄河渡口和蒲津关反叛汉王，与楚订约讲和。汉王派酈生去劝说魏豹，魏豹没有被说服。这年八月，汉王任命韩信为左丞相，攻打魏王。魏王重兵把守蒲坂，封锁了临晋关，于是韩信增设疑兵，故意摆开了船只像要在临晋渡黄河，而伏兵从夏阳用木制的罌瓠浮水渡过黄河，偷袭安邑。魏王魏豹很吃惊，领兵迎击韩信，韩信最终俘获魏王魏豹，定魏地为河东郡。汉王派张耳与韩信一起，领兵东进，然后北上攻打赵国和代国。后九月，打败了代国的军队，在阏与擒获



The kings of Han (403B.C.-230B.C.) and Yin surrendered, and he allied with Qi and Zhao against Chu. In the fourth month he reached Pengcheng, but there his army was routed and he withdrew. Han Xin mustered men to join him at Xingyang and defeated Xiang Yu's army between Jing and Suo, so that the men of Chu could not go further west.

After Liu Bang's defeat at Pengcheng, the kings of Sai and Di went over to Chu. Qi and Zhao also wanted to turn against Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) and make their peace with Chu. In the sixth month Bao, king of Wei, asked leave to go home because one of his parents was ill; but as soon as he reached his state he sealed off the ford across the Yellow River and rebelled against Han, making terms with Chu. Liu Bang sent Li Yiji to urge him to return, but he refused.

In the eighth month Han Xin was appointed junior prime minister and attacked Wei, whose king gathered all his men at Puban and blockaded Linjin. Han Xin, resorting to a ruse, made ready boats as if to cross at Linjin but secretly led his troops to Xiayang where they crossed on rafts to launch a surprise attack on Anyi. The king of Wei, taken by surprise, led his men out to give battle. Then Han Xin captured him, conquered Wei and made it the province of Hedong.

Liu Bang sent Zhang Er and Han Xin eastwards against Zhao and Dai in the north. In the intercalary ninth month the army of Dai was



【原文】

禽夏说阬与。信之下魏破代，汉辄使人收其精兵，诣荥阳以距楚。

信与张耳以兵数万，欲东下井陉击赵。赵王、成安君陈余闻汉且袭之也，聚兵井陉口，号称二十万。广武君李左车说成安君曰：

“闻汉将韩信涉西河，虏魏王，禽夏说，新喋血阬与，今乃辅以张耳，议欲下赵，此乘胜而去国远斗，其锋不可当。臣闻千里馈粮，士有饥色，樵苏后爨，师不宿饱。今井陉之道，车不得方轨，骑不得成列，行数百里，其势粮食必在其后。愿足下假臣奇兵三万人，从间道绝其辎重；足下深沟高垒，坚营勿与战。彼前不得斗，退不得还，吾奇兵绝其后，使野无所掠，不至十日，而两将之头可致于

【今译】

夏说。韩信攻克魏国打败代国之后，汉王就派人调回了他的精锐部队，到荥阳去抵御楚军。

韩信和张耳率领几万军队，要东下井陉攻打赵国。赵王、成安君陈余听说汉军将要来袭击他们，就在井陉口聚集军队，号称有二十万人。广武君李左车劝成安君说：“听说汉将韩信渡过西河，俘虏了魏王，活捉了夏说，又血战阬与，现在又以张耳为帮手，商议着想攻下赵国，这是乘胜离国远征，其势锐不可当。我听说从千里之外运送粮饷，士兵就会挨饿，打了柴草才去烧火做饭，部队就吃不饱。现在井陉的道路，车不能并行，马不能成队，这样行军几百里，势必粮饷就落在队伍的后面。希望您暂时借给我精兵三万，从小道拦截他们的武器粮饷；您深挖战壕高筑营壁，坚守阵地不和他们交战。他们前不能进攻，后不能退回，我率领奇兵截断他们的后路，使他们在野外一点东西都抢不到，不到十天，两将的首级就能献到您的帐前。希望您能考虑我的计



defeated and Xia Yue was captured at Yuyu. As soon as Han Xin had subjugated Wei and Dai, Liu Bang had his best troops brought to Xingyang to resist the armies of Chu.

Han Xin and Zhang Er with a few tens of thousands of men planned to march east by way of Jingxing against Zhao. When the king of Zhao and Chen Yu, lord of Cheng'an, heard of their approach, they sent an army, said to be two hundred thousand strong, to the Jingxing Defile.

Li Zuoche, lord of Guangwu, advised the lord of Cheng'an saying, "We know that General Han Xin of Han crossed the river in the west, captured the king of Wei and General Xia Yue, then caused a blood bath at Yuyu. Now he means to conquer us with the support of Zhang Er. A force like this, coming from a distance and flushed with victory, should not be met head-on. They say, 'When supplies must be shipped a thousand *li*, the soldiers will go hungry. When fuel must be gathered before a meal is cooked, the troops will sleep on empty stomachs.' Now the Jingxing Defile is so narrow that two chariots cannot drive abreast nor cavalry ride in formation. After advancing for several hundred *li*, they must have outdistanced their supplies. Let me take thirty thousand men by a different route to cut off their baggage train, while you heighten your ramparts, deepen your trenches, and stand firm without giving battle."

"When they can neither advance to fight nor withdraw, my troops will cut off their rear so that they get no provisions from the countryside. In less than ten days I shall send the heads of their two generals to your army headquarters. I hope you will consider my proposal. Otherwise



【原文】

戏下。愿君留意臣之计。否，必为二子所禽矣！”成安君，儒者也，常称义兵不用诈谋奇计，曰：“吾闻兵法十则围之，倍则战。今韩信兵号数万，其实不过数千。能千里而袭我，亦已罢极，今如此避而不击，后有大者，何以加之！则诸侯谓吾怯，而轻来伐我。”不听广武君策，广武君策不用。

韩信使人间视，知其不用，还报，则大喜，乃敢引兵遂下。未至井陉口三十里，止舍。夜半传发，选轻骑二千人，人持一赤帛，从间道葭山而望赵军，诫曰：“赵见我走，必空壁逐我，若疾入赵壁，拔赵帜立汉赤帜。”令其裨将传飧，曰：“今日破赵会食。”

【今译】

策。如果不这样做，我们就会被那两个人活捉了！”成安君，是个迂腐的书生，经常说义兵不用诈谋奇计，他回答说：“我听兵法书上讲兵力是敌人的十倍就包围他，是敌人的双倍就和他交战。现在韩信的军队号称数万，其实不过几千。能从千里外来袭击我们，也已精疲力竭了。现在像这样都避而不战，以后有更强大的敌人来，又用什么办法去战胜他们呢！如果不打，各诸侯就会认为我们胆怯，而轻易地来攻打我们。”不听广武君的计策，广武君的计策没有被采纳。

韩信派人暗中去侦察，得知广武君的计策未被采用，密探回来报告，韩信非常高兴，这才敢率兵进入井陉。距离井陉口三十里，停下来休息。半夜传令军中准备出发，选出轻装骑兵二千人，每人拿一面红旗，从小道到山上隐蔽起来观察赵军，并告诫士兵们说：“赵军看见我们逃跑，一定会倾巢出动来追赶我们，你们就赶紧冲进赵军营地，拔掉赵军的旗帜，立起汉军的红旗。”同时下令副将给士兵们吃顿饭，说：“今日打败赵军后会餐。”各



you are bound to be taken captive by them.”

But the lord of Cheng'an was a Confucian scholar who believed that soldiers fighting in a just cause should resort to neither stratagems nor deceit. He said, “I have read in books of military strategy that ‘if you outnumber the enemy ten to one you should surround him, whereas if you have twice his number you should give battle’. Now although Han Xin’s troops are said to number tens of thousands, their fighting strength is a few thousand only. After marching a thousand *li*, they will be worn out. If we were to avoid a fight, what should we do if greater forces came later? Other states, thinking us cowards, would attack us too.” He rejected the plan proposed by the lord of Guangwu.

When the spies sent out by Han Xin reported the rejection of the lord of Guangwu’s plan, Han Xin was overjoyed for now he dared to advance. He made his men pitch camp thirty *li* from the mouth of the defile. At midnight he ordered a picked force of two thousand light cavalry, each man with a red flag, to proceed along a small path hidden in the hills where they could keep Zhao’s army under observation.

“When the men of Zhao see us in flight, they will leave their ramparts to pursue us,” Han Xin told them. “You must storm their position at once, tear down the banners of Zhao and put up the red flags of Han.” He also ordered his lieutenants to distribute light rations, saying, “We shall feast together today after routing Zhao’s army.” His



【原文】

诸将皆莫信，详应曰：“诺。”谓军吏曰：“赵已先据便地为壁，且彼未见吾大将旗鼓，未肯击前行，恐吾至阻险而还。”信乃使万人先行，出，背水陈。赵军望见而大笑。平旦，信建大将之旗鼓，鼓行出井陉口，赵开壁击之，大战良久。于是信、张耳详弃鼓旗，走水上军。水上军开入之，复疾战。越果空壁争汉鼓旗，逐韩信、张耳。韩信、张耳已入水上军，军皆殊死战，不可败。信所出奇兵二千骑，共候赵空壁逐利，则驰入赵壁，皆拔赵旗，立汉赤帜二千。赵军已不胜，不能得信等，欲还归壁，壁皆汉赤帜，而大惊以为汉皆已得赵王将矣。兵遂乱，遁走，赵将虽斩之，不能禁也。于是汉

【今译】

位将领都不相信，只假装答应说：“遵命。”韩信对军官们说：“赵军已经先占据了有利的地势扎下营垒，而且他们没有看见我军的大将旗鼓，就不会出来攻打我们的先头部队，怕我们到了山路险狭的地方会退回来。”韩信于是派一万人先出发，出井陉口，背靠河水排开阵势。赵军看到以后便大笑。天刚亮，韩信树起大将旗帜架起军鼓，击鼓开出井陉口，赵军开营出击汉军，两军大战很长时间。这时韩信、张耳假装战败丢弃了旗鼓，逃回了河边的阵地。河边的部队打开营垒让他们进去，然后又和赵军大战。赵军果然倾巢而出抢夺汉军的旗鼓，追赶韩信、张耳。韩信、张耳已经回到河边的军营里，全军将士都拼死作战，赵军无法打败他们。韩信派出的二千奇兵，在等到赵军倾巢出来争夺战利品时，就冲入了赵军的军营，拔光了赵军的旗帜，插起了二千面汉军的红旗。赵军已无法打败汉军，也不能抓到韩信等人，想收兵回营，发现军营里已全部是汉军的红旗，因此大为惊慌，认为汉军已经全部俘虏了赵王的将领了。于是队伍大乱，士兵们纷



officers pretended to agree to this although they had misgivings.

Then he told his aide-de-camp, "Zhao's men have constructed their fortifications in a strategic position. If they do not see our commander's flag they may not attack our vanguard, lest we withdraw rather than tackle such difficult terrain." He sent ten thousand men to form ranks in front of the river. When the men of Zhao saw this, they laughed heartily.

As soon as the sun rose, Han Xin had his commander's flag borne out and advanced with sounding drums through the defile. The troops of Zhao left their ramparts to attack, and a fierce battle raged, until Han Xin and Zhang Er made a feint of abandoning their drums and flags and fled back to the troops drawn up before the river. These ranks opened to receive them and joined battle with the attackers. Then, sure enough, all Zhao's troops abandoned their ramparts to capture the Han flags and pursue the two generals. But once Han Xin and Zhang Er had joined them, the Han forces by the river fought stubbornly and could not be defeated.

Meanwhile Han Xin's surprise force of two thousand cavalry, who had waited till all Zhao's troops had left their ramparts, galloped to the fortifications, tore down the banners and set up the two thousand red flags of Han. The men of Zhao, unable to defeat their opponents or capture Han Xin and Zhang Er, were about to return to their ramparts when they saw the walls lined with red flags. Frightened and believing that the soldiers of Han had seized their king and commander, they fled in confusion. Their general cut some down as they ran away, but could not halt the stampede. Then the men of Han closed in from both sides and completely routed them, taking many captive. The lord

【原文】

兵夹击，大破虏赵军，斩成安君泚水上；禽赵王歇。

信乃令军中毋杀广武君，有能生得者购千金。于是有缚广武君而致麾下者，信乃解其缚，东乡坐，西乡对，师事之。

诸将效首虏，休毕贺，因问信曰：“兵法右倍山陵，前左水泽，今者将军令臣等反背水陈，曰破赵会食，臣等不服。然竟以胜，此何术也？”信曰：“此在兵法，顾诸君不察耳。兵法不曰‘陷之死地而后生，置之亡地而后存’？且信非得素拊循士大夫也，此所谓‘驱市人而战之’，其势非置之死地，使人人自为战。今予之生地，皆走，宁尚可得而用之乎！”诸将皆服曰：

【今译】

纷逃跑，赵军将领虽然斩杀逃兵，也不能阻止。这时汉军两面夹攻，大破赵军并俘虏了很多，在泚水上杀死成安君，擒获赵王歇。

韩信于是传令军中不要杀死广武君，有能活捉广武君的重赏千金。于是有人捆着广武君送到了韩信的帐中，韩信解开了捆绑的绳子，请他面东而坐，自己面西对坐，用对待老师的礼节来对待他。

诸将领来向韩信呈献首级和俘虏，向韩信表示祝贺完毕，乘机问韩信说：“兵法上说设军阵要右后靠山陵，左前对水泽，这次将军反而命令我们背水列阵，并说打败赵军后会餐，我们都不信。然而最后取得了胜利，这是什么战术呢？”韩信说：“这在兵法上有，只是你们没有细看罢了。兵法上不是说‘陷之死地而后生，置之亡地而后存’吗？况且我韩信没能得到平时由自己指挥的将士，这就是人们所说的‘赶着街上的百姓去作战’，在这种情况下一定要置之死地，使每个人都奋力作战自保。如果把他们放在能逃生的地方，那就会全部逃走，怎么还可以用他们去作战呢！”各位将领都



of Cheng'an was put to death beside the River Chi and King Xie of Zhao was taken prisoner.

Han Xin ordered his troops not to kill the lord of Guangwu, and offered a reward of a thousand gold pieces to anyone who captured him alive. Han Xin untied his bonds and made him take the seat of honour facing east while he himself faced west, treating the lord of Guangwu with the respect due to a teacher.

The officers presented their captives and the heads of the slain, and congratulated Han Xin on the victory. "According to *The Art of War*," they said, "an army should keep hills to its rear or right, and a river in front or to the left. When you ordered us to form ranks before the river and promised us a feast after Zhao's defeat, we could hardly believe our ears. Yet we won after all. What strategy was this?"

"This is in *The Art of War* too, if you only knew it," answered Han Xin. "Does it not say, 'Put them in a death trap and they will come out alive; send them to destruction and they will survive'? Besides, I had no well-trained officers and men but only street rabble rounded up to fight. Circumstances compelled me to put them in a death trap and force them to fight for their lives. Had I left them in a safe place, they would all have run away. What use would that have been to me?"

【原文】

“善。非臣所及也。”

于是信问广武君曰：“仆欲北攻燕，东伐齐，何若而有功？”广武君辞谢曰：“臣闻败军之将不可以言勇，亡国之大将不可以图存，今臣败亡之虏，何足以权大事乎？”信曰：“仆闻之，百里奚居虞而虞亡，在秦而秦霸，非愚于虞而智于秦也，用与不用，听与不听也。诚令成安君听足下计，若信者亦已为禽矣。以不用足下，故信得侍耳。”因固问曰：“仆委心归计，愿足下勿辞。”广武君曰：“臣闻智者千虑，必有一失；愚者千虑，必有一得。故曰狂夫之言，圣人择焉。顾恐臣计未必足用，愿效愚忠。夫成安君有百战百

【今译】

佩服地说：“太对了。这不是我们所想得到的。”

于是韩信问广武君说：“我准备向北攻打燕国，向东讨伐齐国，怎么做能获得成功呢？”广武君谦让地说：“我听说打了败仗的将军没有资格来谈论勇敢作战，亡国的士大夫没有资格来谋划国家的生存。现在我是一个兵败国亡的俘虏，怎么配和您一起来商讨国家大事呢？”韩信说：“我听说过，百里奚在虞而虞亡国，在秦而秦称霸，这并不是因为他在虞国时愚蠢而在秦国时就聪明，在于国君能不能任用他，能不能听从他的计策罢了。真能让成安君听从您的计策，像我韩信这样的人也早已被俘虏了。正因为他没能采纳你的意见，所以我韩信才能在此侍奉您。”接着韩信又一再问他说：“我全心听从您的计策，希望您不要推辞。”广武君说：“我听说智者千虑，必有一失；愚者千虑，必有一得。所以说狂妄的人说的话，圣人也可能选择采纳。只担心我的计策未必值得用，但我愿意献出愚忠。成安君本来有百战百胜的计谋，



"Quite right!" agreed the officers. "This was beyond us."

Then Han Xin said to the lord of Guangwu, "I want to attack Yan in the north and Qi in the east. What would be the most effective way to go about it?"

The lord of Guangwu declined to advise him, saying, "I have heard that the general of a defeated army cannot talk about courage, the minister of a ruined state should not seek to survive. It is not for me, a defeated captive, to consider affairs of such moment."

Han Xin replied, "I understand that when Bali Xi was in the state of Yu, Yu was overthrown; but when he went to Qin, Qin became powerful. This is not because he was foolish when in Yu and wise when in Qin. It was a question of whether his advice was taken or not. Had the lord of Cheng'an adopted your plan, I should have been captured. It was because he ignored your advice that I have the honour of waiting on you now." He urged him again, assuring him, "I shall listen most earnestly to your proposals. I beg you not to decline, sir!"

Then the lord of Guangwu said, "The wisest man, in a thousand schemes, must make at least one mistake; and the greatest fool must hit once on the truth. That is why 'a sage weighs even the words of a madman'. I fear my advice will be useless, but I shall do my humble best."

"The lord of Cheng'an had tactics which appeared invincible yet



【原文】

胜之计，一旦而失之，军败鄙下，身死泚上。今将军涉西河，虏魏王，禽夏说阏与，一举而下井陉，不终朝破赵二十万众，诛成安君，名闻海内，威震天下，农夫莫不辍耕释耒，褊衣甘食，倾耳以待命者。若此，将军之所长也。然而众劳卒罢，其实难用。今将军欲举倦弊之兵，顿之燕坚城之下，欲战恐久力不能拔，情见势屈，旷日粮竭，而弱燕不服，齐必距境以自强也。燕、齐相持而不下，则刘、项之权未有所分也。若此者，将军所短也。臣愚，窃以为亦过矣。故善用兵者不以短击长，而以长击短。”韩信曰：“然则何由？”广武君对曰：“方今为将军计，莫如案甲休兵，镇赵抚其孤，

【今译】

一旦失策，军败鄙下，自己也死于泚水之滨。如今将军渡过西河，俘虏了魏王，在阏与活捉了夏说，一举攻下井陉，不到一个上午就击破了二十万赵军，杀死了成安君，名闻海内，威震天下，农夫们都停止了耕作放下了农具，只图穿好的吃好的，侧耳等候您的命令。像这样，都是将军的长处。然而民众劳苦士卒疲乏，实在是难以继续驱使。现在将军打算用这些疲惫劳乏的士兵，驻扎在燕国坚固的城池之下，想打又恐怕时间久了攻不下来，军情一暴露形势就要被动，时间拖长了粮草就会用完，而弱小的燕国不肯降服，齐国就一定会拒守边境以图自强。与燕国、齐国僵持不下，那么刘邦、项羽的胜负就不能分明。像这些，就是将军的短处。我虽愚笨，也以为这样做是错的。所以善于用兵的人不以自己的短处去攻击敌人的长处，而是以自己的长处去攻击敌人的短处。”韩信说：“那么该怎么办？”广武君回答说：“现在为将军考虑，不如按兵休整，留守赵国抚恤阵亡将士的遗孤，



failed him overnight, for his army was routed before the city of Hao and he himself met death by the River Chi. You, sir, have crossed the Yellow River in the west, captured the king of Wei, defeated Xia Yue at Yuyu, taken Jingxing in one stroke, routed Zhao's army of two hundred thousand in less than a day, and executed the lord of Cheng'an. Your fame spreads far and wide, your might awes the whole world. Even farmers have laid down their ploughs and hoes and, dressed in their best and feasting, are waiting attentively for further commands from you. This is your strength.

"But your men are exhausted, your troops tired out and of no great use at present. If you lead these weary, exhausted troops against the strongholds of Yan, you will worsen as the days drag on and you run short of supplies; for Yan, although weak, will not submit, while Qi will strengthen herself and defend her frontiers. And so long as these two states hold out, the contest between Liu Bang and Xiang Yu will remain deadlocked. This is your weakness. In my humble opinion, you are attempting too much. A good fighter does not attack strength with weakness, but attacks weakness with strength."

"What course should I take?" asked Han Xin.

"If I were you," replied the lord of Guangwu, "I would call a halt, rest your troops, settle the unrest in Zhao and care for the orphans.



【原文】

百里之内，牛酒日至，以飧士大夫解兵。北首燕路，而后遣辩士奉咫尺之书，暴其所长于燕，燕必不敢不听从。燕已从，使喧言者东告齐，齐必从风而服，虽有智者，亦不知为齐计矣。如是则天下事皆可图也。兵固有先声而后实者，此之谓也。”韩信曰：“善。”从其策，发使使燕，燕从风而靡。乃遣使报汉，因请立张耳为赵王，以镇抚其国。汉王许之，乃立张耳为赵王。

楚数使奇兵渡河击赵，赵王耳、韩信往来救赵，因行定赵城邑，发兵诣汉。楚方急围汉王于荥阳，汉王南出，之宛、叶间，得黥布，走入成皋，楚又复急围之。六月，汉王出成皋，东渡河，独与滕公俱，从张耳军修武。至，宿传舍。晨自称汉使，驰入赵壁。

【今译】

方圆百里之内，百姓每天会拿着牛肉美酒，来犒劳将士。然后向着北方燕国的道路派遣军队，然后再派说客拿着书信送给燕国，把您的长处让燕国人知道，燕国一定不敢不听从。燕国降服了之后，您再派使者向东去告诉齐国，齐国也一定会闻风而降，即使有聪明的人，也不知道该为齐国出什么计策。像这样，那么天下的大事就可以考虑了。用兵本来就有先虚而后实的，我说的就是这个道理。”韩信说：“好。”听从了广武君的计策，派人出使燕国，燕国闻风而降。于是又派人报告汉王，并且请求立张耳为赵王，镇守赵国。汉王答应了这一要求，就立张耳为赵王。

楚军多次派遣奇兵渡过黄河攻打赵国，赵王张耳、韩信来回救赵，乘机把路过的赵地城邑都平定下来，又派兵支援汉王。楚军正把汉王包围在荥阳，汉王从南面逃出，到达宛、叶两地之间，收服了黥布，逃入成皋，楚军又很快地包围了成皋。六月，汉王逃出成皋，向东渡过黄河，只和滕公一起，跑到驻扎在修武的张耳军中。到了以后，住在驿站中。第二天早晨他自称是汉王



Treat your officers and men with beef and wine brought in every day from a hundred *li* around, and make ready to advance north towards Yan. Then dispatch an orator with a letter setting forth your strength, and Yan will not dare to defy you. Once Yan has submitted, send a spokesman east to Qi to spread the news, and Qi will feel constrained to submit as well, for even the wisest man could devise no other course. Then you can go on to do whatever you please. This is one of those times in warfare when you should make a big noise before doing anything."

Han Xin approved and took his advice. He sent an envoy to Yan and Yan submitted readily. Then he sent a man to report this to Liu Bang, asking to have Zhang Er made king of Zhao to pacify the country. Liu Bang agreed, and Zhang Er was set up as king of Zhao.

Xiang Yu launched a series of surprise attacks across the Yellow River against Zhao. Zhang Er and Han Xin travelled up and down strengthening different points, pacifying cities and sending troops to the aid of Liu Bang, then besieged by Xiang Yu at Xingyang.

Liu Bang went south to the district between Wan and Ye, and Ying Bu came over to his side. He defended the city of Chenggao, but was at once surrounded by the Chu army. In the sixth month he headed east from Chenggao accompanied only by Lord Teng, and crossed the river to join Zhang Er's army at Xiuwu. Upon his arrival he put up in the hostel and at dawn the next day galloped to Zhang Er's headquarters,



【原文】

张耳、韩信未起，即其卧内上夺其印符，以麾召诸将，易置之。信、耳起，乃知汉王来，大惊。汉王夺两人军，即令张耳备守赵地，拜韩信为相国，收赵兵未发者击齐。

信引兵东，未渡平原，闻汉王使酈食其已说下齐。韩信欲止。范阳辩士蒯通说信曰：“将军受诏击齐，而汉独发间使下齐，宁有诏止将军乎？何以得毋行也！且酈生一士，伏轼掉三寸之舌，下齐七十余城，将军将数万众，岁余乃下赵五十余城，为将数岁，反不如一竖儒之功乎？”于是信然之，从其计，遂渡河。齐已听酈生，即留纵酒，罢备汉守御。信因袭齐历下军，遂至临淄。齐王田广以酈

【今译】

的使者，骑马奔入赵军的军营中。张耳、韩信还没有起床，就从他们的卧室里夺走了他们的印符，用军旗召集来诸将，调整了他们的职务。韩信、张耳起床以后，才得知汉王已经来过，大为吃惊。汉王夺取了两人统率的军队，立即命令张耳留守赵地，任韩信为相国，召集赵国没有使用的军队去进攻齐国。

韩信领兵东进，还没有从平原津渡过黄河，就听说汉王已经派酈食其说降了齐王。韩信打算停止前进。范阳辩士蒯通劝韩信说：“将军奉命攻打齐国，而汉王暗中派密使说降齐王，难道有命令让将军停止进军吗？凭什么可以停止前进呢！况且酈生只是一个辩士，趴在车子上摆弄三寸长的舌头，说下齐国七十多个城邑，将军率领数万军队，一年多才攻下赵国五十多个城邑，做将军好几年，反不如一个小小书生的功劳吗？”于是韩信认为他说得对，听从了他的计策，于是渡过了黄河。这时齐王已接受了酈生的劝降，并留他开怀畅饮，撤除了对汉军的防备。韩信乘机袭击齐国驻扎在历下的军队，接着打到了临淄。齐王田广以为酈生出卖了



announcing himself as an envoy of the king of Han. While Zhang Er from their rooms, summoned their officers and assigned them to new posts. When the two generals woke, they were astounded to find Liu Bang there. After he had taken over their armies, he ordered Zhang Er to defend Zhao and appointed Han Xin his state chancellor, giving him the troops of Zhao not then engaged in combat to attack Qi.

Han Xin led his troops east, but before he crossed the river at Pingyuan he heard that Liu Bang had sent Li Yiji to Qi, and that he had talked Qi into surrendering. Han Xin was about to halt, when an orator from Fanyang named Kuai Tong advised him, "You were ordered to attack Qi and, although the king also sent a secret envoy to make Qi submit, no order has come telling you to halt. Why not press on, then? Li Yiji, a single orator, just by bowing from his carriage and wagging his tongue, has made the seventy-odd towns of Qi surrender, while it took you, with an army tens of thousands strong, more than a year to conquer the fifty-odd cities of Zhao. Have you achieved less in several years as a general than one wretched orator?"

Han Xin took his advice and crossed the river. The king of Qi, after accepting Li Yiji's proposal, was entertaining him with feasts and wine, neglecting the defences prepared against Han. So Han Xin attacked the forces of Qi at Lixia and pressed on to Linzi. King Tian Guang of Qi, who thought Li Yiji had betrayed him, had him thrown



【原文】

生卖己，乃亨之，而走高密，使使之楚请救。韩信已定临菑，遂东追广至高密西。楚亦使龙且将，号称二十万，救齐。

齐王广、龙且并军与信战，未合，人或说龙且曰：“汉兵远斗穷战，其锋不可当。齐、楚自居其地战，兵易败散。不如深壁，令齐王使其信臣招所亡城，亡城闻其王在，楚来救，必反汉。汉兵二千里客居，齐城皆反之，其势无所得食，可无战而降也。”龙且曰：“吾平生知韩信为人，易与耳。且夫救齐，不战而降之，吾何功？今战而胜之，齐之半可得，何为止！”遂战，与信夹潍水陈。韩信乃夜令人为万余囊，满盛沙，壅水上流，引军半渡，击龙且。详

【今译】

自己，于是烹杀了郢生，而后逃往高密，派使者到楚王那里求救。韩信平定了临菑，接着向东追击田广到高密以西。楚王也派龙且为将军，率领着号称二十万的大军，援救齐王。

齐王田广、龙且两军会合与韩信作战，还未交锋，有人劝龙且说：“汉军远征奋战，其锋不可阻挡。齐、楚两军在自己的国土上作战，士兵容易溃散。不如深沟高垒，让齐王派他的亲信大臣招抚丢失的城邑，投降的城邑官民听说自己的国王还在，又有楚军来援救，一定会反叛汉军。汉军远居二千里之外的异国他乡，齐国城邑里的百姓都反对他们，势必没有地方可以得到粮食，这样就可以不战而使汉军投降。”龙且说：“我平素深知韩信的为人，是很容易对付的。况且我救齐王不战而使汉军投降，我还有什么功劳？现在我经过战斗打败汉军，齐国的一半土地可以得到，为什么要停止作战！”于是和汉军交锋，与韩信的部队隔着潍水摆开了阵势。韩信于是派人连夜做了一万多个袋子，装满沙子，堵住了潍水的上游，然后带领一半人马渡河，袭击龙且，假装打不



into the cauldron and then fled to Gaomi, sending an envoy to Chu to beg for help.

After conquering Linzi, Han Xin marched east and pursued Tian Guang to west of Gaomi. Xiang Yu dispatched General Long Ju with an army given out to be two hundred thousand strong to rescue Qi. Before their joint forces engaged Han Xin, someone warned Long Ju, "The men of Han, battling far from home, will fight so fiercely that they must not be met head-on. Qi and Chu are fighting on their own ground and their men can easily disperse if defeated. It would be better to strengthen your defences and ask the king of Qi to send trusted ministers to rally the towns he has lost; for when they know that the king is still alive and that Chu has come to Qi's rescue, they will revolt against Han. The Han soldiers are two thousand *li* from home. If all the towns of Qi rise against them, they will have no way to get food and will surrender without a fight."

"I know Han Xin well," replied Long Ju. "He is easy to deal with. Besides, I have come to save Qi, but what glory should I win by forcing him to surrender without a fight? If I defeat him, half Qi may be mine. Why should I stop?"

He prepared to give battle and drew up his army confronting Han Xin across the River Wei. That night Han Xin made his men block the upper stream with more than ten thousand sandbags. He led his army to the attack but turned back half way, as if fearing defeat.

【原文】

不胜，还走。龙且果喜曰：“固知信怯也。”遂追信渡水。信使人决壅囊，水大至。龙且军大半不得渡，即急击，杀龙且。龙且水东军散走，齐王广亡去。信遂追北至城阳，皆虏楚卒。

汉四年，遂皆降平齐。使人言汉王曰：“齐伪诈多变，反覆之国也，南边楚，不为假王以镇之，其势不定。愿为假王便。”当是时，楚方急围汉王于荥阳，韩信使者至，发书，汉王大怒，骂曰：“吾困于此，旦暮望若来佐我，乃欲自立为王！”张良、陈平蹑汉王足，因附耳语曰：“汉方不利，宁能禁信之王乎？不如因而立，善遇之，使自为守。不然，变生。”汉王亦悟，因复骂曰：

【今译】

赢，回军逃跑。龙且果然高兴地说：“我本来就知道韩信胆子小。”于是领兵渡潍水追击韩信。韩信派人决开堵水的沙袋，大水一涌而至。龙且的军队大半还没有渡过潍水，韩信立即下令反击，杀死了龙且。在潍水东岸的龙且的军队四处逃散，齐王田广也逃跑了。韩信于是追击败兵直至城阳，全部俘虏楚军士兵。

汉四年(公元前203年)，韩信终于全部降服和平定了齐地。韩信派人向汉王汇报说：“齐国伪诈多变，是个反复无常的国家，南面和楚国交界，不设置一个代理国王来镇抚他们，势必不能安定。我希望做代理国王以便利国家。”当时，楚军正把汉王紧紧围困在荥阳，韩信的使者到达以后，汉王打开信件一看，勃然大怒，骂道：“我被围困在这里，日夜盼望你来帮我，你却想自立为王！”张良、陈平暗中踩汉王的脚，接着凑近汉王的耳边低声说：“汉军处境不利，怎么能禁止韩信称王呢？不如乘势立他为王，好好地对待他，让他镇守一方。不这样做的话，就会发生变乱。”





"I knew he was a coward!" exulted Long Ju and pursued Han Xin across the river. Then Han Xin sent men to break the dam of sandbags, and the water came rushing down so that the bulk of Long Ju's army could not cross. Swiftly closing in, Han Xin killed Long Ju, while the men of Chu on the east bank scattered and ran. King Tian Guang of Qi also fled. Han Xin pursued the enemy north to Chengyang, and captured the whole Chu force.

In the fourth year of Han, having completed the conquest of Qi, Han Xin sent an envoy to report to Liu Bang, "Qi is deceitful, unreliable and fickle, and it borders Chu on the south. Without an acting king to control the land, there can be no stability here. It would help if you appointed me the acting king."

This envoy arrived at a time when Chu was besieging Liu Bang at Xingyang and the situation was desperate. Liu Bang read the letter and swore, "I am tied down here, waiting day and night for him to come to my aid, and he wants to make himself king!"

Zhang Liang and Chen Ping both trod on his feet and whispered in his ear, "Hard-pressed as we are, how can we stop Han Xin from making himself king? You may as well appoint him and treat him well, encouraging him to defend his territory. Otherwise there will be trouble."

Liu Bang realized his mistake and said with another oath, "One



【原文】

“大丈夫定诸侯，即为真王耳，何以假为！”乃遣张良往，立信为齐王，征其兵击楚。

楚已亡龙且，项王恐，使盱眙人武涉往说齐王信曰：“天下共苦秦久矣，相与戮力击秦。秦已破，计功割地，分土而王之，以休士卒。令汉王复兴兵而东，侵人之分，夺人之地，已破三秦，引兵出关，收诸侯之兵以东击楚，其意非尽吞天下者不休，其不知厌足如是甚也。且汉王不可必，身居项王掌握中数矣，项王怜而活之，然得脱，辄倍约，复击项王，其不可亲信如此。今足下虽自以与汉王为厚交，为之尽力用兵，终为之所禽矣。足下所以得须臾至今

【今译】

汉王也明白过来，接着又骂道：“大丈夫平定了诸侯，就应当立为真王，为什么还要做代理国王呢！”于是派张良前往立韩信为齐王，征调他的部队攻打楚军。

楚军失去龙且后，项王恐慌了，派盱眙人武涉前去游说齐王韩信说：“天下人受秦王朝的苦已经好久了，大家相约并力攻打秦朝。秦王朝被消灭后，根据功劳的大小划分土地，分立为王，使士兵得到了休息。现在汉王又兴兵东征，侵占别人的封地，攻破三秦之后，又率兵出关，收集了其它诸侯的军队向东攻打楚军，他的意图是不吞并天下不肯罢休，他不知满足就是这么过分。况且汉王此人也不一定可信，他的性命曾多次掌握在项王手中，项王可怜他而让他活了下来，然而他一脱险境，就背弃盟约，反过来又攻击项王，他不可亲近、不可信赖到如此地步。现在您虽自认为和汉王交情深厚，为他尽力作战，但终究会被他抓起来的。您所以能暂时保存性命到今天的原因，是因为项王还存在的缘



who conquers a state should be a full king, not an acting king." He sent Zhang Liang to make Han Xin the king of Qi and bring back some of his troops to attack Chu.

After Chu lost its general Long Ju, Xiang Yu grew alarmed and sent Wu She of Xuyi to urge Han Xin, then king of Qi, saying, "The world suffered long under Qin till all the states joined forces to attack it. After Qin was overthrown, the land was distributed according to merit and kings appointed so that the troops might rest. Now the king of Han has taken up arms again and marched east, invading and occupying the territory of others. He has conquered the three states of Qin, led his troops out of the Passes and mustered men from other states to attack Chu in the east. He will not stop till he has swallowed up the whole world — nothing else will satisfy him.

"Besides, there is no trusting the king of Han. We have had him in our power more than once, but each time our king took pity on him and spared him. As soon as he escaped, however, he always broke faith and attacked our king again. That shows how untrustworthy he is. Now you are fighting your best for him because you think him your good friend, but he will end up by seizing you. You have only had a moment's respite because our king still lives. It is you who hold the



【原文】

者，以项王尚存也。当今二王之事，权在足下。足下右投则汉王胜，左投则项王胜。项王今日亡，则次取足下。足下与项王有故，何不反汉与楚连和，参分天下王之？今释此时，而自必于汉以击楚，且为智者固若此乎！”韩信谢曰：“臣事项王，官不过郎中，位不过执戟，言不听，画不用，故倍楚而归汉。汉王授我上将军印，予我数万众，解衣衣我，推食食我，言听计用，故吾得以至于此。夫人深亲信我，我倍之不祥，虽死不易。幸为信谢项王！”

武涉已去，齐人蒯通知天下权在韩信，欲为奇策而感动之，以相人说韩信曰：“仆尝受相人之术。”韩信曰：“先生相人何如？”对曰：“贵贱在于骨法，忧喜在于容色，成败在于决断，以此参

【今译】

故。现在二王争夺天下，胜负的关键就在于您。您右靠汉王汉王就胜利，您左靠项王项王就胜利。项王今天被消灭，那么下一个就轮到您了。您和项王有旧交情，为什么不背叛汉王而和楚王联合，三分天下而自立为王呢？现在您如果放弃了这个时机，而一定要帮助汉王来攻打楚王，作为一个聪明的人能像这样吗！”韩信辞谢说：“我过去事奉项王，官不过是个郎中，职位不过是个执戟的卫士，进言他不听，计策他不用，所以才背楚归汉。汉王授予我上将军的印信，交给我数万军队，脱下他的衣服给我穿，拿他的饭菜给我吃，对我言听计从，所以我才能到这个地位。人家对我十分亲信，我背叛了他不吉祥，即使死也不能改变主意。请为我向项王道歉！”

武涉离开以后，齐国人蒯通知道决定天下局势的关键在于韩信，打算用妙计来感动他，于是用相人术劝韩信说：“我曾学过相人术。”韩信说：“先生怎么相人？”蒯通回答说：“人的贵贱在于



balance between these two kings. If you move to the right, the king of Han will win; if to the left, our king will win. Then why not turn against Han and live on friendly terms with Chu, dividing the land into three? To let slip this opportunity and insist on taking Han's side against us is not the action of a wise man."

But Han Xin turned down this proposal, saying, "When I served under your king I was merely a guardsman, a common halberdier, and my advice and plans were never accepted. So I left him and went to the king of Han, who gave me the seal of a grand marshal with tens of thousands of men under my command. He shared his food and clothing with me and adopted all my proposals. That is how I reached my present position. It would be wrong to betray one who trusts me so deeply. I shall remain true to him to the death. Please make my apologies to your king for me."

After Wu She left, an orator of Qi named Kuai Tong, who saw that Han Xin held the balance of power, tried to win him over by a remarkable means. Speaking to him as a physiognomist, he said, "I have learned to tell a man's fortune from his face."

"How do you do that?" asked Han Xin.

"High rank or low depend on the bone structure, good fortune or bad on the countenance, success or failure on the judgement. By taking these three factors into account, I have not been mistaken once in ten thousand predictions."

【原文】

之，万不失一。”韩信曰：“善。先生相寡人何如？”对曰：“愿少间。”信曰：“左右去矣。”通曰：“相君之面，不过封侯，又危不安。相君之背，贵乃不可言。”韩信曰：“何谓也？”蒯通曰：“天下初发难也，俊雄豪杰建号一呼，天下之士云合雾集，鱼鳞杂遝，燔至风起。当此之时，忧在亡秦而已。今楚、汉分争，使天下无罪之人肝胆涂地，父子暴骸骨于中野，不可胜数。楚人起彭城，转斗逐北，至于荥阳，乘利席卷，威震天下。然兵困于京、索之间，迫西山而不能进者，三年于此矣。汉王将数十万之众，距巩、洛，阻山河之险，一日数战，无尺寸之功，折北不救。败荥阳，伤成皋，遂走宛、叶之间，此所谓智勇俱困者也。

【今译】

骨相，喜忧在于脸色，事业成败在于决断能力，用这三方面的情况加以参酌，万无一失。”韩信说：“好。您看我怎么样？”蒯通回答说：“希望单独谈。”韩信说：“左右的人都走开吧。”蒯通说：“看您的面，地位不过诸侯，而且又危险不安。看您的背，却贵不可言。”韩信说：“为什么这样说呢？”蒯通说：“天下最初起兵抗秦时，英雄豪杰们建立王号一声呼唤，天下的勇士们像云雾一样汇集，像鱼鳞一般排列，像火花迸发和大风疾起。在这个时候，人们的忧虑只有怎样灭掉秦国罢了。现在楚、汉相争，使天下无罪的百姓惨遭杀戮，父子老小暴尸荒野，不可胜数。楚国人从彭城起兵，转战追击，直到荥阳，乘胜席卷广大地区，威震天下。然而部队被困在京、索之间，被阻于成皋以西的山地不能前进，已经三年了。汉王率领着数十万军队，占据巩、洛之地，依靠着大山黄河的险要地形，一天打好几仗，却没有一点功劳，兵败奔逃难以自救。在荥阳打败仗，在成皋被射伤，于是逃到了





"Good. And how do you read my face?"

"May I speak to you in private?"

Han Xin ordered his attendants to retire.

"Judging by your face," said Kuai Tong, "you can be no more than a feudal lord in a dangerous and insecure position. But on your back I see greatness defying description.

"What do you mean?"

"When the world first rose in arms and heroes with one voice issued a call, men flocked to them like gathering clouds or shoals of fish, like wildfire or a rising wind. Their one thought then was how to overthrow Qin. But now the kings of Chu and Han are contending together so that innocent men are butchered and the bones of countless fathers and sons are lying in the wilderness. The army of Chu set out from Pengcheng and fought its way to Xingyang, advancing victoriously and aweing the world by its might; yet it has been halted between Jing and Suo and can go no further than the western mountains. This has been the case for three years now.

"The king of Han, on the other hand, at the head of hundreds of thousands of men, is defending Gong and Luoyang, making use of the natural barriers of mountains and rivers. But although he fought several times a day he gained not an inch of land, nor did flight save him. He was routed at Xingyang, wounded at Chenggao, and forced

【原文】

夫锐气挫于险塞，而粮食竭于内府，百姓罢极怨望，容容无所倚。以臣料之，其势非天下之贤圣，固不能息天下之祸。当今两主之命系于足下，足下为汉则汉胜，与楚则楚胜。臣愿披腹心，输肝胆，效愚计，恐足下不能用也。诚能听臣之计，莫若两利而俱存之，参分天下，鼎足而居，其势莫敢先动。夫以足下之贤圣，有甲兵之众，据强齐，从燕、赵，出空虚之地而制其后，因民之欲，西乡为百姓请命，则天下风走而响应矣，孰敢不听！割大弱强，以立诸侯，诸侯已立，天下服听而归德于齐。案齐之故，有胶、泗之地，怀诸侯以德，深拱揖让，则天下之君王相率而朝于齐矣。盖闻‘天

【今译】

宛、叶之间，这就叫智勇都受困。将士的锐气在险要处受到挫伤，供应粮食的内府消耗殆尽，老百姓也精疲力竭，怨声载道，人心浮动，无所归依。据我估计，这种情况不是天下的圣贤就平息不了天下的祸乱。如今汉王、项王的命运都掌握在您的手中，您帮汉王汉王就胜，帮楚王楚王就胜。我愿意披肝沥胆，奉献我的计策，恐怕您不能采纳。如果真能听从我的计策，不如对双方都不损害而使他们共存下去，您和他们三分天下，鼎足而立，在这种形势下谁也不敢先动。凭您的贤才圣德，又拥有众多的部队，占有强大的齐国，跟着的有燕、赵，出兵到刘邦、项羽的空虚之地而牵制住他们的后方，顺应老百姓的愿望，向西阻止刘、项之争以为百姓请命，那么天下就会闻风响应，谁敢不听！然后分割大国削弱强国，重新分封诸侯，等诸侯分土立国之后，天下就会归服听命而感恩于齐国。占据齐国的故土，拥有胶河、泗水一带的地域，用恩德来安抚诸侯，恭谨谦让，那么天下的君王就会相继来朝拜齐国。我听说‘天赐给的不取，反会受到惩罚；时机



to flee to the district between Wan and Ye. Neither wisdom nor courage have been of any avail. His men's keenness has been blunted by frustrations, the grain in his granaries is dwindling away; the people are exhausted and seething with discontent, and have no means of support. To my mind, none but a wise leader can end this turmoil.

"Now the fate of these two kings depends on you. If you join Han, Han will win; if Chu, then Chu will win. I would like to lay bare my heart and frankly offer you a humble plan; only I am afraid you may not be able to use it. If you follow my plan, however, you can take advantage of both sides and divide the land into three with them like the three legs of a tripod, so that neither of the others dare make the first move."

"You are a brilliant commander and your forces are mighty. With powerful Qi as your base, you could advance from Yan and Zhao to unoccupied areas and control the king of Han's rear. Then if in accordance with the popular wish you turn west to plead for peace for the common people, the whole world will respond as swiftly as wind or an echo. No one will dare to defy you. You can weaken strong states by setting up feudal rulers, so that the whole world follows you and turns towards Qi. You can control the old land of Qi with the Jiao and Si river valleys, influence the states with virtue and rule with courtesy, so that all the feudal lords pay homage to you. The proverb says, 'A man who does not take what Heaven offers will come to harm; a man who

【原文】

与弗取，反受其咎；时至不行，反受其殃’。愿足下孰虑之！”

韩信曰：“汉王遇我甚厚，载我以其车，衣我以其衣，食我以其食。吾闻之，乘人之车者载人之患，衣人之衣者怀人之忧，食人之食者死人之事，吾岂可以乡利倍义乎？”蒯生曰：“足下自以为善汉王，欲建万世之业，臣窃以为误矣。始常山王、成安君为布衣时，相与为刎颈之交。后争张敖、陈泽之事，二人相怨。常山王背项王，奉项婴头而窜，逃归于汉王。汉王借兵而东下，杀成安君泑水之南，头足异处，卒为天下笑。此二人相与，天下至欢也。然而卒相禽者，何也？患生于多欲，而人心难测也。今足下欲行忠信以交于汉王，必不能固于二君之相与也，而事多大于张

【今译】

来了不去做，反会遭到灾难’。希望您仔细考虑这件事！”

韩信说：“汉王待我十分优厚，把他的车子给我坐，把他的衣服给我穿，把他的饭给我吃。我听说，坐别人的车子要为人分担灾难，穿别人的衣服要为人分担忧愁，吃别人的饭要为人事业效死，我怎么能够为图好处而背弃信义呢！”蒯通说：“您自以为和汉王很要好，想建立流传万世的功业，我却认为您错了。当初常山王、成安君还是百姓的时候，互相结为生死之交，后来因为张敖、陈泽的事情发生争执，两人相互结仇。常山王背叛了项王，提着项婴的头逃跑，投奔汉王。汉王借他的军队东进，在泑水的南边杀死了成安君，使他头脚分家，终于被天下人所耻笑。这两个人的交情，是天下最好的了。然而最终彼此都想把对方抓获，是为什么呢？因为祸患就产生于贪得无厌，而人心又变幻莫测。现在您打算以忠信与汉王交往，但你们的交情一定不会比常山王、成安君二人更牢固，而你们之间的事却比张敖、陈泽的事



misses his chance will get into trouble. 'I implore you to think this over carefully!' But Han Xin said, "The king of Han treats me well and shares his carriage, clothing and food with me. I have heard that he who rides in another man's carriage should share his burden, he who wears another man's clothing should share his worries, he who eats another man's food should serve him to the death. How can I, for the sake of personal gain, betray him?"

"You consider yourself his friend," replied Kuai Tong, "and want to found a dynasty that will endure for ever, but I believe you are mistaken. When Zhang Er and the lord of Cheng'an were common citizens, they were sworn friends. But when they fell out because of the affair of Zhang Yan and Chen Ze, Zhang Er left Xiang Yu and fled with the head of his envoy Xiang Ying to Han. Then the king of Han sent him east with troops to kill lord of Cheng'an south of the River Chi. Thus the lord lost his head and became an object of scorn to all the states. These men were two of the best friends in the world. Why then did they turn against each other? Because excessive ambition leads to trouble and the heart of man is hard to fathom.

"Now you want to keep faith with the king of Han, but your friendship can hardly be stronger than that between those two lords while more is at stake than the affair of Zhang Yan and Chen Ze.



【原文】

黥、陈泽。故臣以为足下必汉王之不危己，亦误矣。大夫种、范蠡存亡越，霸句践，立功成名而身死亡。野兽已尽而猎狗亨。夫以交友言之，则不如张耳之与成安君者也；以忠信言之，则不过大夫种、范蠡之于句践也。此二人者，足以观矣。愿足下深虑之。且臣闻勇略震主者身危，而功盖天下者不赏。臣请言大王功略：足下涉西河，虏魏王，禽夏说，引兵下井陘，诛成安君，徇赵，协燕，定齐，南摧楚人之兵二十万，东杀龙且，西乡以报。此所谓功无二于天下，而略不世出者也。今足下戴震主之威，挟不赏之功，归楚，楚人不信；归汉，汉人震恐。足下欲持是安归乎？夫势在人臣之位

【今译】

情更大。所以我认为您觉得汉王一定不会危害自己，也是错的。大夫种、范蠡保存了即将灭亡的越国，使句践称霸，功成名就以后就被杀或逃亡。野兽打光了猎狗也就要被烹杀了。以交情友谊而言，您与汉王的关系则不如张耳和成安君；以忠信而言，您与汉王的关系则超不过大夫种、范蠡与句践。从这两类人的例子，足以让您看清楚了。希望您仔细考虑这件事。况且我听说勇敢和谋略威震人主的人生命就有危险，而功劳最大的人无法封赏。请让我说一说您的功劳和谋略：您渡过西河，俘虏了魏王，活捉了夏说，率兵攻下了井陘，杀死了成安君，夺取了赵国，迫降了燕国，平定了齐国，南下摧垮了楚国二十万大军，向东杀死了龙且，向西给刘邦报捷。这就是说您的功劳举世无双，而谋略也是当世无人能超过的。现在您拥有震动君主的威势，具有无法封赏的功劳，归附楚国，楚人不敢相信；归附汉王，汉人感到震恐。您带着这样的威势和功劳打算归顺谁呢？您居于臣子的地位而拥有



These are my grounds for believing you mistaken in trusting the king of Han implicitly. When Zhong and Fan Li saved Yue from destruction and made King Goujian a great conqueror, yet despite their achievements and their fame they perished. When no wild beasts are left, the hounds are tossed into the cauldron! If you talk of friendship, yours cannot compare with that of Zhang Er and Chen Yu. If you talk of loyalty, yours cannot surpass that of Wen Zhong and Fan Li to Goujian. These two examples should suffice. I hope you will ponder this deeply!

“Furthermore, I have heard that a man whose courage and wisdom make his own sovereign tremble lives in danger, while superlative services are never rewarded. Let me enumerate your achievements, great king. You crossed the Yellow River in the west, captured the king of Wei, took Xia Yue prisoner, led your troops through Jingxing, executed the lord of Cheng’an, subdued Zhao, forced Yan to surrender, pacified Qi, crushed two hundred thousand men of Chu in the south, killed Long Ju in the east and reported what you had done to the king in the west. Truly your achievements are unsurpassed in the world, your wisdom unparalleled in this generation. Your prestige dismays the king and your services are too great for any reward. Should you go over to Chu, the men of Chu would not trust you. Should you remain with Han, the men of Han must fear you. Then which way should you turn? You rank as a subject, yet your prestige makes rulers tremble and your



【原文】

而有震主之威，名高天下，窃为足下危之。”韩信谢曰：“先生且休矣，吾将念之。”

后数日，蒯通复说曰：“夫听者事之候也，计者事之机也，听过计失而能久安者，鲜矣。听不失一二者，不可乱以言；计不失本末者，不可纷以辞。夫随厮养之役者，失万乘之权；守儋石之禄者，阙卿相之位。故知者决之断也，疑者事之害也。审毫厘之小计，遗天下之大数，智诚知之，决弗敢行者，百事之祸也。故曰‘猛虎之犹豫，不若蜂蛰之致螫；骐驎之踟蹰，不如弩马之安步；孟贲之狐疑，不如庸夫之必至也；虽有舜、禹之智，吟而不言，不

【今译】

震动君主的威势，声名比天下人都高，我为您感到危险。”韩信道歉说：“先生请不要说了，我将考虑你的意见。”

几天以后，蒯通又劝韩信说：“能够听取意见是事情成功的征兆，能反复考虑是事情成功的关键，听错了意见和打错了主意而能长久安全的，太少有了。听取别人意见而听错不会超过一二次的人，别人不可能凭花言巧语来迷惑他；考虑问题不会本末倒置的人，别人不可能以闲言碎语来扰乱他。安心于做奴仆杂役的人，会失去君王的权力；留恋微薄俸禄的人，得不到公卿宰相的地位。所以聪明之人就会遇事当机立断，迟疑就会坏了事情。对小事很精明，却丢了天下大事，聪明智慧足以知道事情的利弊，但绝不敢去做，这是一切事情失败的祸根。所以说‘猛虎犹豫不决，反不如黄蜂、蝎子的一心叮咬；骏马徘徊不前，反不如劣马稳步前进；孟贲般的勇士狐疑不决，反不如平常人有一定要达到的目的的决心；即使有舜、禹那样的智慧，却闭口不言，反不如聋



fame is the greatest in the land. I am concerned for your safety."

Han Xin thanked him, saying, "Enough! I shall think it over."

Some days later Kuai Tong broached the subject again. "When listening to advice one should show discrimination, for planning is the root of success," he said. "Few men prosper if they listen to bad advice or make the wrong plans. But a man who can take advice, make plans, grasp essentials and keep his sense of proportion, will not be misled by words. He who contents himself with a menial task will never have authority over ten thousand chariots, he who clings to a salary of one or two bushels of grain will never become a high minister. Wisdom means action, whereas doubt means failure. If you see a small part but forget the greater, know what is right but cannot determine how to act, you are simply courting disaster. That is why they say, 'Better an angry hornet than a hesitant tiger, better a poor horse that canters than a lame thoroughbred, better an ordinary fellow determined to act than a brave man who vacillates. A man with the wisdom of Shun or Yu who mumbles or keeps silent is less effective than a



【原文】

如暗聋之指麾也’。此言贵能行之。夫功者难成而易败，时者难得而易失也。时乎时，不再来。愿足下详察之。”韩信犹豫，不忍倍汉，又自以为功多，汉终不夺我齐，遂谢蒯通。蒯通说不听，已详狂为巫。

汉王之困固陵，用张良计召齐王信，遂将兵会垓下。项羽已破，高祖袭夺齐王军。汉五年正月，徙齐王信为楚王，都下邳。

信至国，召所从食漂母，赐千金。及下乡南昌亭长，赐百钱，曰：“公，小人也，为德不卒。”召辱己之少年令出胯下者以为楚中尉，告诸将相曰：“此壮士也。方辱我时，我宁不能杀之

【今译】

哑人用手势比划’。这些话是说可贵的是能付诸行动。功业难成而容易失败，时机难得而容易错过。等着时机，过了就不再来。希望您仔细考虑这件事。”韩信犹豫着不忍心背叛汉王，又自认为功劳多，汉王最终不会夺去自己的齐国，于是谢绝了蒯通。蒯通的劝说未被采纳，就装疯做了巫师。

汉王被围困在固陵时，采纳了张良的计策，召见齐王韩信，韩信于是率兵在垓下与汉王会师。项羽被打败以后，高祖袭击并夺去了齐王的军队。汉五年（公元前202年）正月，改封齐王韩信为楚王，定都下邳。

韩信到了自己的封国，召见了当年给他饭吃的漂洗绵絮的大娘，赏赐给她千金。找到了下乡南昌亭长，赏赐给他百钱，并说：

“你是个小人，做好事有始无终。”又召见曾侮辱过自己让自己从他胯下爬过去的那个人任命为楚中尉，告诉他的将相们说：“这是位壮士。当他侮辱我时，我难道不能杀了他么？杀了他我也没有



deaf mute who can make gestures.' So it is important to be able to act. Distinction is hard to achieve, easy to mar. Opportunities are hard to find, easy to let slip. The same chance never comes twice. I beg you to consider this carefully."

Still Han Xin hesitated, unwilling to betray Liu Bang and confident that after all he had achieved the king would never take Qi away from him. So finally he rejected Kuai Tong's advice. When the latter saw this, he feigned madness and became a witch-doctor.

When Liu Bang was hard-pressed at Guling, he adopted a plan proposed by Zhang Liang to summon Han Xin, and they joined forces at Gaixia. But after Xiang Yu's defeat, the emperor took Han Xin's army from him. In the first month of the fifth year of Han, Han Xin was transferred from Qi to be king of Chu with his capital at Xiapei.

When Han Xin reached his state, he summoned the washerwoman who had fed him and gave her a thousand gold pieces. To the constable of Nanchang he gave one hundred coins, saying, "You are a mean fellow, doing a kindness by halves."

He sent for the young man who had insulted him by making him crawl between his legs, and made him the military commander of the capital of Chu. "He is a brave man," Han Xin told his ministers. "When he insulted me, I could easily have killed him but what glory was there

【原文】

邪？杀之无名，故忍而就于此。”

项王亡将钟离昧家在伊庐，素与信善。项王死后，亡归信。汉王怨昧，闻其在楚，诏楚捕昧。信初之国，行县邑，陈兵出入。汉六年，人有上书告楚王信反。高帝以陈平计，天子巡狩会诸侯，南方有云梦，发使告诸侯会陈：“吾将游云梦。”实欲袭信，信弗知。高祖且至楚，信欲发兵反，自度无罪，欲谒上，恐见禽。人或说信曰：“斩昧谒上，上必喜，无患。”信见昧计事，昧曰：“汉所以不击取楚，以昧在公所。若欲捕我以自媚于汉，吾今日死，公亦随手亡矣。”乃骂信曰：“公非长者！”卒自刭。信持其首，谒高祖

【今译】

什么名气，所以就忍住才达到今天的地位。”

项王的逃亡将领钟离昧家住在伊庐，一向和韩信要好。项王死后，他就投奔了韩信。汉王怨恨钟离昧，听说他在楚国，就下令让楚国捉拿钟离昧。韩信刚到楚国，巡视所属县邑，进出都带兵。汉六年（公元前201年），有人上书告楚王韩信谋反。高帝采纳了陈平的计策，说天子将外出巡狩会见诸侯，南方有个云梦，派使者通知各诸侯到陈地朝会，告诉他们说：“我将游览云梦。”其实是打算袭击韩信，韩信不知道。高祖将要到达楚地时，韩信打算起兵造反，但觉得自己是无罪的，想去朝见高祖，但又怕被抓起来。有人劝韩信说：“杀了钟离昧去朝见高祖，高祖一定很高兴，你就会没事。”韩信会见钟离昧商量此事。钟离昧说：“汉王之所以不敢来攻取楚国，是因为我在您这里。如果想抓起我去讨好汉王，我今天死去，您也随即就要灭亡了。”于是骂韩信说：“你不是个忠厚的长者！”终于自杀了。韩信拿着钟离昧的头，去





in that? So I put up with it, and reached my present position.”

One of Xiang Yu's former generals, Zhongli Mo, came from Yilu and was an old friend of Han Xin. After Xiang Yu's death he took refuge with Han Xin. When the Han emperor, who bore him a grudge, heard that he was in Chu, he issued an order for his arrest. On arriving in his state Han Xin made a tour of inspection of the different districts and was accompanied everywhere by troops.

In the sixth year someone reported that he was plotting revolt. So the emperor, on Chen Ping's advice, announced that he would make an imperial tour and meet the feudal lords on his way to the Yunmeng Marshes in the south. Messengers were sent to summon the lords to Chen, through which the emperor would pass on his way to Yunmeng. Han Xin did not realize that the emperor meant to catch him off his guard. When the emperor was just approaching Chu, Han Xin was tempted to raise troops and rebel but reminded himself that he was innocent. He decided to see the emperor, though afraid he might be arrested.

Someone advised him, saying, “If you cut off Zhongli Mo's head before your audience with the emperor, he will be pleased and you will have no trouble.”

Han Xin repeated this to Zhongli Mo, who said, “The only reason he has not attacked you is because I am here. If you arrest me to curry favour, I may die today but you will be the next to perish!” Then he cursed Han Xin for an evil man and cut his own throat. Han Xin carried his head when he went to meet the emperor. But the emperor

【原文】

于陈。上令武士缚信载后车。信曰：“果若人言：‘狡兔死，良狗亨；高鸟尽，良弓藏；敌国破，谋臣亡。’天下已定，我固当亨！”上曰：“人告公反。”遂械系信。至洛阳，赦信罪，以为淮阴侯。

信知汉王畏恶其能，常称病不朝从。信由此日夜怨望，居常鞅鞅，羞与绛、灌等列。信尝过樊将军哙，哙跪拜送迎，言称臣，曰：“大王乃肯临臣！”信出门笑曰：“生乃与哙等为伍！”

上常从容与信言诸将能不，各有差。上问曰：“如我能将几何？”信曰：“陛下不过能将十万。”上曰：“于君何如？”曰：“臣

【今译】

陈地朝见高祖。高祖命令武士把韩信捆绑起来，放在后面的车子上。韩信说：“果然像有人说的那样：‘狡黠的兔子死了，好猎狗也就被烹杀了；高飞的鸟射完了，好弓箭也就被收藏起来了；敌国被攻破了，谋臣也就被杀死了。’现在天下已经平定了，我也当然该被烹杀了！”高祖说：“有人告你谋反。”于是给韩信带上刑具。到了洛阳，高祖赦免了韩信的罪过，改封他为淮阴侯。

韩信知道汉王害怕嫉妒自己的才能，经常称病不去朝见和随从出行。韩信由此日夜怨恨，在家里常闷闷不乐，耻于和绛侯、灌婴处于同等地位。韩信曾去拜访将军樊哙，樊哙用跪拜的礼节恭迎恭送，说话时也自称为臣，说：“大王竟肯光临寒舍！”韩信出门，笑着说：“我这一辈子竟同樊哙等人相处！”

高祖曾经闲暇时和韩信谈论诸将的才能高下，韩信对他们的评论各有不同。高祖问韩信说：“像我能率领多少兵？”韩信说：“陛下不过能率领十万人。”高祖说：“你怎么样呢？”韩信回答





ordered guards to bind him and place him in the rear carriage.

"So it is true what they say!" cried Han Xin. "When the cunning hares are killed, the good hound is thrown into the cauldron; when the soaring birds have been caught, the good bow is put away; when enemy states are overthrown, the wise minister is killed. Now that the empire is won, it is natural that I should be put to death."

"I have information that you are plotting revolt," said the emperor.

Han Xin was taken in chains to Luoyang, but there he was pardoned and made the marquis of Huaiyin.

Han Xin, knowing that the emperor feared his ability, often stayed away from court on the pretext of illness. He nursed a grievance day and night and remained sullenly at home, humiliated at holding the same rank as Zhou Bo and Guan Ying.

One day he called on General Fan Kuai, who knelt down to welcome him, referring to himself as Han Xin's subject and saying, "Your Highness does me a great honour by this visit."

As Han Xin left he laughed and said, "So I have come down to the level of men like Fan Kuai."

Once the emperor was casually discussing with Han Xin the relative abilities and shortcomings of his generals.

"How many troops would you say I could command?" asked the emperor.

"Not more than a hundred thousand," was Han Xin's reply.

"How about yourself?"



【原文】

多多而益善耳。”上笑曰：“多多益善，何为为我禽？”信曰：“陛下不能将兵，而善将将，此乃信之所以为陛下禽也。且陛下所谓天授，非人力也。”

陈豨拜为钜鹿守，辞于淮阴侯。淮阴侯挈其手，辟左右与之步于庭，仰天叹曰：“子可与言乎？欲与子有言也。”豨曰：“唯将军令之。”淮阴侯曰：“公所居，天下精兵处也；而公，陛下之信幸臣也。人言公之畔，陛下必不信；再至，陛下乃疑矣；三至，必怒而自将。吾为公从中起，天下可图也。”陈豨素知其能也，信之，曰：“谨奉教！”汉十年，陈豨果反。上自将而往，信病不

【今译】

说：“我越多越好。”高祖笑着说：“既然越多越好，为什么还会被我抓住呢？”韩信说：“陛下不善于带兵，而善于驾驭将领，这就是我被陛下抓获的缘故。况且陛下的权力是天授予的，不是人力所能达到的。”

陈豨被任命为巨鹿郡守，向淮阴侯辞行。淮阴侯拉着他的手，避开了左右随从人员和他在庭院里散步，仰天叹气说：“你可以和我谈谈吗？我有些话想和你谈谈。”陈豨说：“将军只管吩咐。”淮阴侯说：“你所管辖的地方，是天下精兵聚集之处；而你，是陛下亲信宠幸的臣子。如果有人说你反叛，陛下一定不会相信；第二次有人去告你，陛下就会产生怀疑；第三次有人去告你，陛下一定会愤怒地亲自率兵来讨伐你。我为你从这里起兵响应，就可以夺得天下。”陈豨一向知道韩信的才能，也相信他的计谋，说：“一定听从你的指教！”汉十年（公元前197年），陈豨果然起兵反叛。高祖亲自带兵前往讨伐，韩信称病没有随从出



"In my case, the more the better."

"The more the better!" The emperor laughed, "Then how is it that you let me capture you?"

"You are not a good general, sir, but a good commander of generals. That is why you captured me. Besides, you are one of those favoured by Heaven with more than human power."

When Chen Xi was appointed governor of Julu he went to take his leave of Han Xin, who took his hand and, dismissing his attendants, strolled with him through the courtyard. Presently Han Xin looked up and said with a sigh, "Can you keep a secret? There is something I want to tell you."

"I am yours to command, general!" was Chen Xi's reply.

"The post you are going to has the best troops in the empire," said Han Xin. "And you are a minister whom the emperor favours and trusts. If someone accused you of plotting revolt, the emperor would not believe it. But a second impeachment would arouse his suspicions, while a third would so enrage him that he would march against you with an army. Then, if I raised troops to support you in the capital, between us we could win the empire."

Since Chen Xi admired and trusted Han Xin he replied, "I shall remember your instructions."

In the tenth year of Han, Chen Xi did indeed revolt. The emperor himself led an army against him, but Han Xin, pleading illness, did not

【原文】

从。阴使人至豨所，曰：“弟举兵，吾从此助公。”信乃谋与家臣夜诈诏赦诸官徒奴，欲发以袭吕后、太子。部署已定，待豨报。其舍人得罪于信，信囚，欲杀之。舍人弟上变，告信欲反状于吕后。吕后欲召，恐其党不就，乃与萧相国谋，诈令人从上所来，言豨已得死，列侯群臣皆贺。相国给信曰：“虽疾，强入贺。”信入，吕后使武士缚信，斩之长乐钟室。信方斩，曰：“吾悔不用蒯通之计，乃为儿女子所诈，岂非天哉！”遂夷信三族。

高祖已从豨军来，至，见信死，且喜且怜之，问：“信死亦何言？”吕后曰：“信言恨不用蒯通计。”高祖曰：“是齐辩士也。”

【今译】

征。韩信偷偷派人到陈豨的住处说：“你只管起兵，我在这里协助你。”韩信于是和家臣谋划，乘黑夜假传诏书赦免在官府服劳役的罪人和奴隶，要发动他们去袭击吕后、太子。部署已定，等待陈豨的消息。韩信的门客得罪了韩信，韩信把他关了起来，打算把他杀掉。那个门客的弟弟上书吕后，告发了韩信准备反叛的情况。吕后打算召韩信来，又怕他的党羽不肯就范，就和萧相国合谋，派一个人假装从高祖那里来，说陈豨已被杀死，列侯群臣都来庆贺。萧相国欺骗韩信说：“虽然你有病，但还是要勉强去庆贺一下。”韩信进了宫，吕后派武士把韩信捆绑起来，在长乐宫钟室里杀了他。韩信临斩时说：“我后悔没有采纳蒯通的计策，竟被妇人小子所欺骗，这岂不是天意么！”于是诛灭了韩信三族。

高祖从平定陈豨的战场回来，到都城，看到韩信已经死了，又高兴又怜惜，问：“韩信死时说了些什么？”吕后说：“韩信说他后悔没采纳蒯通的计策。”高祖说：“此人是齐国的辩士。”于是



accompany the troops. He sent a man in secret to tell Chen Xi, "Rise in arms and revolt! I shall assist you from here."

Han Xin plotted with his followers at night to forge an edict freeing all public slaves, intending to use them to attack Empress Lü and the crown prince. All his dispositions had been made and he was waiting for word from Chen Xi. Then the brother of a steward who had been imprisoned and sentenced to death by Han Xin for some offence, informed Empress Lü of the plot. The empress wanted to summon Han Xin to court, but feared he and his followers might not come. She consulted the prime minister, Xiao He, and they spread word that men had come from the emperor with news that Chen Xi had been killed. Then nobles and ministers flocked to court to offer congratulations, and Xiao He tricked Han Xin, saying, "Although you are unwell, you should make an effort to go to the palace to offer congratulations."

When Han Xin arrived, Empress Lü ordered guards to bind him and behead him in the bell chamber of Changle Palace.

As he was led to his death, Han Xin exclaimed. "Too bad I did not take Kuai Tong's advice! Now I have been tricked by a woman and a boy. This is surely fate." Han Xin's three classes of relatives were wiped out.

The emperor, returning from his expedition against Chen Xi, was both pleased and distressed by the news of Han Xin's death.

"Did he say anything before he died?" he asked.

"He said he was sorry not to have taken Kuai Tong's advice," answered Empress Lü.

"That man is an orator of Qi," said the emperor and ordered



【原文】

乃诏齐捕蒯通。蒯通至，上曰：“若教淮阴侯反乎？”对曰：“然，臣固教之，竖子不用臣之策，故令自夷于此。如彼竖子用臣之计，陛下安得而夷之乎？”上怒曰：“烹之！”通曰：“嗟乎，冤哉烹也！”上曰：“若教韩信反，何冤？”对曰：“秦之纲绝而维弛，山东大扰，异姓并起，英俊乌集。秦失其鹿，天下共逐之，于是高材疾足者先得焉。蹠之狗吠尧，尧非不仁，狗因吠非其主。当是时，臣唯独知韩信，非知陛下也。且天下锐精持锋欲为陛下所为者甚众，顾力不能耳。又可尽烹之邪？”高帝曰：“置之！”乃释通之罪。

【原文】

诏令齐国缉拿蒯通。蒯通被抓来了，高祖说：“是你教唆淮阴侯反叛的吗？”蒯通回答说：“是的，我的确教他反叛，小子没用我的计策，所以才自取灭亡。假如那小子采纳我的计策，陛下怎么能杀得了他呢？”高祖很生气地说：“烹杀他！”蒯通说：“哎呀，烹杀我冤枉啊！”高祖说：“你教韩信反叛，有什么冤枉的？”蒯通回答说：“秦王朝法度废弛而政权瓦解，山东六国大乱，各诸侯国纷纷自立，英雄豪杰像乌鸦一样纷纷聚集。秦王朝失去了统治权，天下的人都来追逐帝位，于是才能高行动快的人才能抢先得到。盗跖的狗对着尧狂叫，并非尧不仁，狗因为他不是自己的主人而叫。那个时候，我只知道韩信，并不知道陛下。况且天下拿着兵器想要做陛下所做的事的人很多，只是他们能力不够罢了。难道你可以把他们全部烹杀光吗？”高帝说：“放了他。”于是赦免了蒯通的罪过。



Kuai Tong's arrest.

When Kuai Tong was brought before him, Emperor Gaozu asked, "Did you advise the marquis of Huaiyin to rebel?"

"I did," said Kuai Tong. "The fool would not do as I urged, so now he has been killed. If the fool had taken my advice, how could you have destroyed him?"

"Throw him into the cauldron!" roared the emperor in a fury.

"Ah!" cried Kuai Tong. "How unjust!"

"Unjust? When you advised Han Xin to rebel!"

"When Qin's rule was weakened and confusion reigned in the east, various clans raised armies and brave men gathered together. Qin had lost the stag — the imperial power — and all the world was chasing after it. The prize would go to the ablest and the swiftest. Brigand Zhi's dog barked at Emperor Yao not because Yao was wicked but because dogs bark at all but their own masters. At that time I knew only Han Xin, not Your Majesty. Besides, there were many men who sharpened their weapons and took up arms, eager to do as you did. But their strength was not equal to yours. Do you intend to throw them all into the cauldron?"

"Let him go!" said the emperor and pardoned Kuai Tong.



【原文】

太史公曰：吾如淮阴，淮阴人为余言，韩信虽为布衣时，其志与众异。其母死，贫无以葬，然乃行营高敞地，令其旁可置万家。余视其母冢，良然。假令韩信学道谦让，不伐己功，不矜其能，则庶几哉，于汉家勋可以比周、召、太公之徒，后世血食矣。不务出此，而天下已集，乃谋畔逆，夷灭宗族，不亦宜乎！

【今译】

太史公说：我到淮阴，淮阴人对我说，韩信即使是平民百姓时，他的志向就和别人不同。他的母亲死后，穷得无法埋葬，然而还是到处跑着找高敞的坟地，让他母亲的坟地旁可以安置万户人家。我去看他母亲的坟，的确如此。假如让韩信学学道家的谦让，不夸耀自己的功劳，不以自己的才能骄傲，就差不多了，那他对汉王朝的功劳可以和周公、召公、太公这些人相比，后代祭祀就不会断绝了。但他没有向这方面努力，而在天下大局已定以后，还要谋反叛乱，宗族被杀光，不也是应该的吗！





The Grand Historian comments: When I visited Huaiyin, the local people told me that even while a common citizen Han Xin was not like ordinary people. At the time of his mother's death he could not afford to give her a funeral, yet he found a high burial ground with room enough for ten thousand households to settle. I visited his mother's grave and confirmed that this was true.

Had Han Xin followed the Way and been more modest instead of boasting of his achievements and glorying in his ability, all would have been well. For his services to the House of Han he might have been compared with the duke of Zhou, the duke of Zhao or the Patriarch Lü Shang, and sacrifices would have been made to him by later generations. But instead he attempted to revolt when the empire was united. To have his family wiped out was no more than he deserved.

¹ 205 B.C.